

MEMOIRS OF GAUR AND PANDUA

BY

KHĀN SĀHIB M. 'ĀBID 'ALĪ KHĀN

OF MĀLDAH

&

EDITED AND REVISED

BY

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PREFACE

HAVING been employed by Government in the work of repairing the ruins of Gaur and Pandua, I thought of publishing a book which would contain within a narrow compass all the desirable information on the subject of these ruins, and would be useful alike to the archæologist, to distinguished visitors to these places, and to the public at large. In what is now offered to the public, I claim little originality; but being a resident of the district in which these ruins are, and having been on the spot on duty for many years, I have had peculiar facilities for collecting information about them, not only from the books and Government publications on the subject, but also from the local people with whom I have been familiar from childhood, and who have gladly supplied me with information which might have been difficult of access to others.

My chief object in compiling this book is to show, within as brief a space as possible, the history and the principal features of the ruins as they now stand, so as to afford to visitors an easy means of getting at the facts concerning them.

The first draft of the book was composed about the time of the visit to Māldah, in February 1902, of His Excellency Lord Curzon, the Governor-General of India, to whom, while visiting the ruins of Gaur and Pandua, a hastily prepared type-written copy of the compilation was presented. His Excellency perused it on the spot with considerable interest. Thus encouraged, I revised the copy, and having made a few additions and alterations it was published in booklet form in 1912. It has since been further revised and expanded with the addition of illustrations, and is now being published through the kindness of the Local Government in a form which I trust will suit all the requirements of the public.

It contains four chapters. The first is introductory; the second gives a brief account of the Kings of Gaur and Pandua, including facts and events of an interesting nature which occurred in their reigns; while the subject of the Ruins proper, as well as other places of interest, is dealt with in the last two chapters.

My warmest thanks are due to the authors whose works have been consulted and freely quoted in this compilation, especially the Archæological Survey Report, Volume XV, of Major-General Cunningham, and the *Gaurer Itihās* of my old friend, the late Babu Rajani Kanta Chakravarti, Pandit of the Māldah Zilla School.

My heartfelt thanks are also due to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, of the Archæological Department, for his going through the manuscript copy of the book and correcting details on the spot while visiting the ancient monuments at Gaur and Pandua in November 1916.

In the Appendices will be found a Bibliography of Gaur and Pandua, and Chronological Tables giving the names of the Kings of Delhi and Bengal.

M. 'ĀBID 'ALĪ KHĀN,
(*Yusufzai*).

ANGREZĀBĀD, MĀLDAH :

The 25th October 1924.

INTRODUCTION

IN writing a Foreword for this chronicle of Gaur and Pandua as illustrated by the surviving buildings and inscriptions of these erstwhile capitals of Bengal, it seems desirable in the first place to offer a brief narration of the somewhat checkered history of the book. The author who was then a ministerial officer of the Public Works Department received, as long ago as 1903, a reward of Rs. 100 from the local Government for writing an account of the ruins for Lord Curzon when this Viceroy of India visited Māldah in 1902 in connection with his scheme for the preservation of the ancient monuments of India; and Government also undertook to print a revised edition of the compilation. In the absence of proper sources of reference, the process of revision seems to have been a difficult one for the author and, though assisted by helpful criticisms from members of the Archæological Department, it was not until 1925 that the book, greatly enlarged in size, and with many illustrations, was finally submitted for approval.

After such a lapse of time, even the original correspondence had been destroyed, and before any final decision about the book in its revised form could be arrived at, information was received by Government that the author had died on November 14th, 1926. Further discussions ensued as to the need for still more revision: and finally, at the end of 1928, I was requested to make any additional suggestions for the improvement of the manuscript and to see the book through the Press.

I utilised the opportunity of another visit to Māldah early in 1929 to check the author's statements as far as possible *in situ*: but examination of the typed manuscript showed that much further revision of the book was necessary, particularly in the direction of checking the correctness of the author's historical references, and in removing unnecessary repetitions. The work in fact has since then undergone at least three revisions, twice in typescript and once in galley proof, and most of the resulting book is in consequence very different from the form in which it was submitted to Government in 1925. The section on Pandua, as well as the last chapter of the book, has had to be re-modelled and expanded—in both cases because fresh facts had come to light since the author's death, and because it seemed desirable to treat the subject in a more detailed fashion than the late Khān Sāhib had done. Considerable changes had also to be made in the first two chapters, as it was impossible to accept without reservations either the author's conclusions regarding the location of Nadia and Ekdāla (the former of which he identified with Gaur itself), or his summary of that period of Bengal history about 1415 A.D. which led to the establishment for a short time on the throne of Bengal of a Hindu dynasty belonging to the House of Rājā Kāns. The original framework of the book has however been preserved intact, as, short of complete rewriting, it was impossible to make any alteration in this respect. The brief Bibliography supplied by the author has been considerably enlarged and another Topographical Bibliography of Inscriptions added. The places mentioned have been twice revisited, and it is now hoped that the book in its final

form will be found to be a thoroughly trustworthy historical and topographical guide.

II. An Autobiography was found as an appendix in the author's final draft and in view of the untimely death of the Khān Sāhib the following extract may suitably be included in this introduction :—

“I was born in 1872 A.D. in the village of Arhidanga, a place about 16 miles north-west of the headquarters of the district of Māldah, and am the son of the late Hājī Turāb Khān of Arhidanga. He was the first Muhammadan of the district who educated his sons in English. In my boyhood I was educated in the Vernacular languages in the village school and afterwards acquired English education in the Zilla School at Māldah and in the Calcutta Madrasah. My training in the Engineering line was obtained in the Bihār School of Engineering at Bankipūr and in the Sibpūr College. I then served for 5 years as a manager of the Indian Muhammadan Trading Company at Bankipūr.

“I entered the P. W. D. in 1899 and was put in charge of the special repairs to the old buildings at Gaur and Pandua. Since then I have been discharging these duties besides carrying out other Civil works of the Department. In recognition of my services, Government was pleased to confer upon me the title of ‘Khān Sāhib’ in the year 1917.

“I belong to the ancient family of the Pathān rulers of Gaur and my ancestors came with King Fīrūz Shah from Delhi and settled at Gaur. When my forefathers were much harassed by the Governors of the Mughal Emperors and their number grew less and less, they selected a high land close to Bisān Kot at Charkhi and Batna for their safe asylum; but as the place became afterwards full of jungle and unhealthy, the family transferred their residence to the present village of Arhidanga. For the past 30 years my two brothers and I have been settled at English Bāzār, and my eldest brother, Khān Sāhib Abdul Azīz Khān, B.L., has served as Chairman of the English Bāzār Municipality for several years. We belong to the Yūsuf-Zai branch of the Pathān tribe and Urdu is spoken in our family and neighbourhood. Our conversation is very similar to that current in Delhi. Certain rites in our marriage ceremonies are the same as those that used to be observed in the Royal family at Delhi.

“In addition to my work on the Ruins of Gaur and Pandua, the following books have been written by me for the use of Muhammadan youths, and these have large sales in the market. The books marked 1, 3 and 4 have all been approved by the Text Book Committee of Bihār and Orissa, and there is a large demand for the ‘Prayer book for Muslims,’ in foreign countries, viz., Trinidad, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Hongkong and Ceylon :—

1. Prayer book for Muslims (in English and Arabic).
2. *Gulshān-i-Hind* (a song book in Urdu and Persian).
3. An Urdu Primer.
4. A Bengali Primer.”

III. A further point to which it seems desirable to allude in an introduction to an historical work of this character, is the topographical problem presented

by the two ancient capitals of Gaur and Pandua. Since the author's death, the use of aeroplane photographs has resulted in the discovery that, at some very early stage of its history, the town of Pandua was not less in area than even Gaur itself, as lines of fortification—5 miles along each face—are clearly visible in the photographs, with a large inner citadel immediately to the south-east of the Adina Mosque. All the larger tanks within the fortification run north and south : so it is probable not only that the local tradition of Pandua being an extremely ancient city is perfectly correct but also that it was from the loot of this former Hindu capital that the materials for building Gaur and the Muhammadan buildings in stone at Pandua itself were obtained. It is too early yet to discuss the implications of the discovery of such a vast Hindu capital : but, as will now be indicated, the main topographical problem of the reasons for the establishment of the two cities of Pandua and Gaur is essentially one arising from the changes in the course of the Ganges, and certain other rivers that still exist in this part of Bengal.

From the annexed maps it will be seen that four rivers have to be considered in this connection, three coming from the west and one from the north. These are—(1) the *Ganges* : (2) the *Kālindrī*, on which English Bāzār now stands, with the former site of Gaur a few miles to the south-west : (3) the *Bhāgīrathī*, now a mere rivulet running along the western face of Gaur : and (4) the *Mahānandā* which now joins the *Kālindrī* 4 miles north of English Bāzār, with the town of Old Māldah at the junction, and Pandua 8 miles still further to the north.

There can be little doubt that both the present *Kālindrī* and *Bhāgīrathī* represent former beds of the Ganges, the first-named when the Ganges flowed to the north and east of the present site of Gaur, and the *Bhāgīrathī* a later bed, when the Ganges began to change its course to one further west and south. In still earlier times the Ganges probably flowed even further north, and—as the name Muralighāt, a village 3 miles to the south-west of the Adina Mosque, may indicate—the ancient city of Pandua was situated on its northern bank. From Pandua the Ganges then seems to have flowed across the southern portion of the present Rājshāhī Division, along what is now the southern bed of the Atrāī River, direct to Dacca and Suvarnagrām (Sunārgāon), keeping the old red alluvium of Northern and Eastern Bengal as its northern bank. The *Mahānandā* then, as now, flowed along the western face of Pandua ; so that this city was situated at the junction of the two rivers, and served not only as an entrepôt for other Hindu settlements to the north and north-east, but also as a military base for the control of the territory north of the Ganges. Owing probably to floods in Northern Bengal bringing down the *Mahānandā* a quantity of silt, the original bed of the Ganges became choked up, with the result that the Ganges first moved south into more or less the present bed of the *Kālindrī*, the course of the *Mahānandā* being correspondingly lengthened and Pandua left some miles away from the Ganges. Still later, this was followed by a movement further west and south of the course of the Ganges, which

resulted in the formation of the present site of Gaur as a *char* (island) of the Ganges, with the Ganges in the present bed of the Bhāgīrathī, washing the western edge of the *char*. From the former name of Lakhnautī, viz., Rāmāvatī, the last named event must have been prior to the time of Rāma Pāla, i.e., 1100 A.D. ; but the discovery in 1893 by the late Mr. U. C. Batavyal, I.C.S., Magistrate of Māldah, of a copper-plate grant of land dating from the 32nd year of the Buddhist King Dharma Pāla (circa 800 A.D.), which was found in Khalimpūr—*alias* Kholī 'Alampūr—a village lying 6 miles east of the citadel of Muhammadan Gaur, on the opposite side of the great Chatia Bhatia marsh, indicates that settlement on the *char* began at least 300 years before the time of Rāma Pāla.¹ Later—possibly in early Muhammadan times—the Ganges moved still further west to more or less its present course near Rājmahal, and as the present narrow Bhāgīrathī now looks more like an artificial canal than a river, it may be conjectured that the Kings of Gaur took steps, shortly after the last mentioned change in the course of the Ganges, to maintain the connection between the Kālindrī to the north and the Ganges to the south, by excavating a canal for the purpose of convenient water transport from the western side of Gaur.

The changes in the main water courses—particularly that of the Ganges—must in any case have been most detrimental to the health of the inhabitants of the area involved, and, as the Khān Sāhib points out in his book, they fully account for the constant changes of capital that are so marked a feature of the entire period of Muslim rule in Bengal.

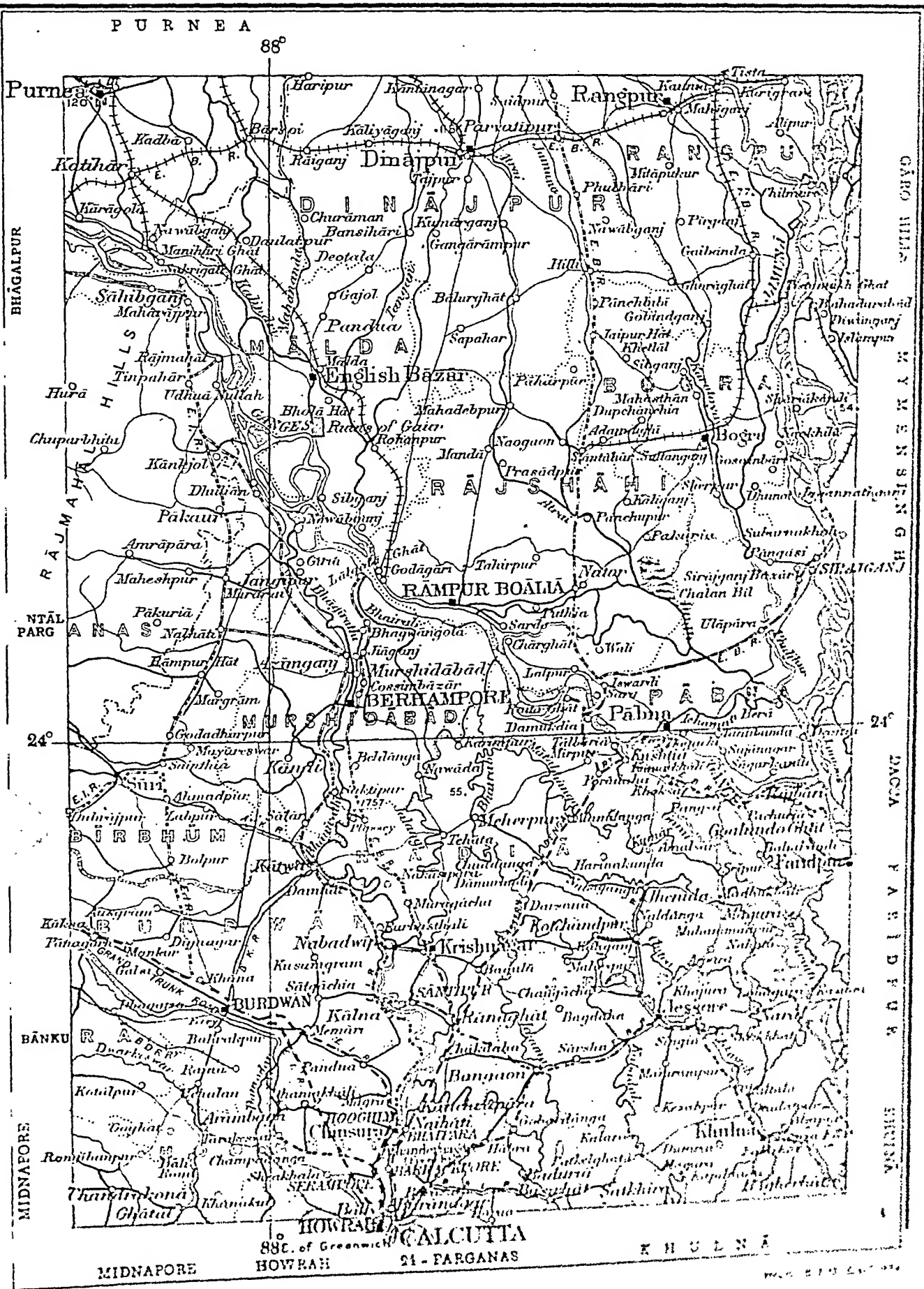
IV. I have, in conclusion, to express my best thanks to Shamsul-Ulamā Dr. Hidāyat Husain, Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah, for much assistance in the revision of both the manuscript and proofs : to Maulvi Maqbūl Ahmad of the Arabic Department, Presidency College, for looking up many references : to Mr. M. O. Carter, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Māldah, for answering numerous queries and, in particular, plotting the perimeter walls of Pandua on the *mauza* map : and to Mr. N. K. Bhattasālī, Curator, Dacca Museum, not only for criticising the first proof, but also for lending some blocks of coins as illustrations, from his 'Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal.' To Messrs. Johnstone and Hoffmann, Government is indebted for permission to reproduce a selection of their photographs of Gaur and Pandua ; and thanks are also due to the authorities of the Calcutta Historical Society for permission to utilise blocks that previously served to illustrate some notes on Māldah, Gaur and Pandua by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in *Bengal : Past and Present* (Vol. VIII—1914—pp. 121-125). The three maps, plan of the Adīna Mosque, and reproduction of inscriptions are the careful work of the Survey of India.

WRITERS' BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA ;
November 15th, 1930.

H. E. STAPLETON.

¹ *Wile Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIII (1894), pp. 39-62. The original plate is now in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. Collotype reproductions of both sides of the plate are given in Mr. Batavyal's paper.

MAP OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL BENGAL.



Ria No 1777. E. 30-1,020.

Scale 1:2,000,000.

2577 Milan

Miles 20

1-011 Incheon - 32 Miles

PLATE I.

CHAPTER I.

Brief history of the two Cities—Gaur and Pandua.

THE CONQUEST¹ OF BENGAL BY MUHAMMAD-I-BAKHTIYĀR KHALJĪ.

GAUR, under the names of Rāmāvatī and Lakshmanāvatī, was probably one of the royal capitals of the Pāl and Sen Kings, but its recorded history does not begin until the Muhammadan conquest of Western and Northern Bengal (Rārh and Varendra) by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār Khaljī, the lieutenant of Qutbuddin Aibak of Delhi, in the year 599 of the *Hijra*, corresponding with 1202 A.D. Rai Lakshman Sen (better known as Lakhan Sen) who had renamed Gaur Lakshmanāvatī after his own name, was then King of Bengal, and Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār, advancing rapidly by the south-easterly road from Bihār, surprised him in his capital of Nadia on the Bhāgīrathī river (now represented by Nabadwip, a little to the west of Krishnagar). Lakhan Sen escaped, first possibly to his other capital at Lakshmanāvatī, and then to Sunārgāon in Eastern Bengal where his descendants continued to rule for another century. Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār followed him as far as Lakshmanāvatī, which was then established as the chief seat of Muhammadan power in Bengal and is henceforward known by a shortened form of the old name, viz., Lakhnautī. Few traces of Sen rule in Gaur and Northern Bengal can now be found, but the name of Lakhan Sen's father Ballāl Sen probably still survives in the name Ballāl Bārī or Bāghbārī, which is applied to the fortified area at the northern extremity of Gaur (*vide* Plate II).

Lakhan Sen is said to have been a King of considerable power in the earlier part of his reign. His territories were invaded by the Musalmāns when he was 80 years of age. He had three sons, Madhab Sen, Keshab Sen and Biswarūp Sen, by two wives named Basudevī and Ballava Devī. Halayudha Misra was his Minister.

SOOTHSAYERS OF RĀJĀ LAKHAN SEN.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*¹ says that a number of astrologers and counsellors presented themselves before the Rājā, whom the author calls Rāi Lakhmaniah, and represented to him, that in the books of their ancient sages, it had been foretold that the country would fall into the hands of the Toorks (Musalmāns), and that when that should come to pass, the reigning Rājā could do no better than consent to his subjects, as well as himself, fleeing elsewhere, so that they

¹Raverty's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 556-573.

might escape from the molestation of the *Mlechhas* (unclean ones). The Rājā asked the astrologers whether any token had been given in the ancient books with regard to the identity of the leader of the Muslim troops, so that he might not be mistaken. The soothsayers replied that the indication of this leader would be that, when he stood upright and let his hands hang by his sides, his fingers would reach beyond the point of his knee-joints to his calves. On receiving this answer, Lakhan Sen deputed trustworthy persons to make investigations, who found in Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār the peculiarity mentioned, and informed the Rājā accordingly.

MUHAMMAD-I-BAKHTIYĀR'S EASY CONQUEST OF BENGAL.

Their report produced a great commotion among the Brahmins and wise men, chiefs and lords of the country, who are said to have retired hastily into the province of Sankanāt (possibly Northern Bengal), the cities and towns of Bang (Eastern Bengal), and towards Kāmrūd (Kāmrūp, i.e., Assam); but Rai Lakhmaniah was not then willing to abandon his kingdom. The following year after that, Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār prepared a force and, marching from Bihār, suddenly appeared before the city of Nadia. He had advanced so fast that no more than 18 horsemen could keep up with him, the other troops following far behind. He entered the city unopposed and, as has already been stated, captured it in the year 1202 A.D. The *Tabaqāt* states that Rai Lakhmaniah was then sitting in his inner apartment with his food set before him on gold and silver plates, when the sudden onrush of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār struck terror into his heart and the Rājā ran out barefooted and fled.¹ His treasures, *harem*, slaves, servants and elephants all fell into the raider's hands. Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār then caused the *Khutbah* to be read, and coins struck in the name of Qutbuddīn Aibak, his immediate superior at Delhi. After the conquest of Bengal, Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār established mosques, colleges and rest-houses for dervishes in that province and made Lakhnautī the seat of his government. In 1205 A.D. he led an expedition into Tibet which was not successful. In this expedition he suffered much, and, after losing many of his soldiers and high officers, ultimately got back to Devkot, his northern military outpost near Gangarāmpūr (18 miles south of Dīnājpur). On arrival at Devkot he fell ill and shut himself up and no more rode out into the streets, for whenever he did so, widows and orphans of the soldiers and officers who had fallen in this unlucky expedition, used to curse and abuse him. He died at Devkot after ruling as Governor of Bengal for three years. Some say that 'Alī-i-Mardān assassinated him.

¹ There is an interesting drawing by Mr. Surendra Nāth Gangūl of Calcutta which illustrates the memorable flight of Rājā Lakhan Sen. It shows the venerable monarch hardly able to walk, wearing only a single sheet half covering his body, and leaning on a stick, stealing down his palace stairs to embark in a boat which was ready at the foot of the staircase to receive him. The bow of the boat is shaped like a peacock's tail.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF BENGAL.

From the time of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār Khaljī (1202-05) down to that of Qadar Khān (1325-38) Bengal formed a dependency of the throne of Delhi, but after the death of Qadar Khān in 1338 Bengal was ruled by its own Kings who were quite independent of the Kings of Delhi.

BENGAL INDEPENDENT.

Within the 14 years following 1338 Hājī Ilyās brought the whole country under his rule and made Pandua—the ancient Hindu city 20 miles north-east of Lakhnautī—the capital of Muslim Bengal. It was after this change of the seat of Government that he made his stand against the powerful invasion of Firūz Shah of Delhi in 1354 at Ekdāla, a great earthen fort surrounded by marshes, a possible site of which may be the present village of Murcha, about 14 miles up-stream from the junction of the Kālindrī with the Mahānandā (*vide* later p. 23).

Sikandar Shah I, the son of Ilyās Shah, also made Pandua his seat of Government which remained with his family till about 1410 when Rājā Kāns (or Ganesh) set up a short succession of puppet kings beginning with Saifuddīn Hamzah Shah, in whose name he ruled. The Rājā's son Jalāluddīn Muhammad (*alias* Jadu), who had embraced Islām, first came to the throne of Bengal in 1415 A.D., and held his court at Pandua, where his tomb—the Eklākhī Mausoleum—still forms one of the most picturesque objects of this deserted place.

CHANGES OF THE CAPITAL.

From Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār Khaljī to Qadar Khān the Viceroys retained their capital at Lakhnautī (Gaur), but when the Kings of Bengal established their independence they made Firūzābād (Pandua) the seat of Government.

“The causes of this transfer are nowhere stated; but it was obviously connected with the changes in the river courses, making Lakhnautī unhealthy and uninhabitable. The various civil wars, with repeated plunderings of the city, might have hastened the transfer.”¹

The return of the capital from Firūzābād to Gaur was probably effected in the reign of Mahmūd I (1442-59). This transfer was again largely due to physical changes in the locality. “After much fluctuation, the Ganges seems to have found a comparatively stable course on the west of the city, and its floods probably raised the level of the city on its eastern part. By high embankments on the east and west, it became now practicable to make the city

¹ *Vide* Monmohan Chakravarti's “Notes on Gaur,” etc. (*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V—1909—, No. 7, pp. 204-234).

habitable ; and the deep stream flowing on the west must have greatly facilitated trade. On the other hand, the river receded from Pandua and made it less accessible and more unhealthy. A change in the dynasty also facilitated the removal."¹

Sulaimān Kararānī subsequently removed the capital from Gaur to Tānda (still further to the south-west) in 1565. This removal was similarly caused by changes in the course of the Ganges, the difficulty of communication, and the unhealthiness of Gaur from its malarious surroundings.

Mun'im Khān, *Khān-i-Khānān*, the first Viceroy of Akbar, retransferred the seat of Government from Tānda to Gaur in 1575, but the rains of that year caused an epidemic from which numberless people died and the Viceroy himself fell a victim. The seat of Government was then hurriedly taken back to Tānda.

In 1595 Rājā Mān Singh removed the seat of Government from Tānda to Rājmaḥal on the other side of the Ganges. Fluctuations in the river course were again probably the main cause of the transfer. After the removal of the capital, Tānda dwindled away, and was ultimately destroyed by the floods of 1826. When Islām Khān was the Sūbadār of Bengal the seat of Government was transferred to Dacca about 1612. The main reasons for this removal was to deal with a fresh Afghān rebellion under 'Usmān, as well as to check incursions by the Arakanese. During the Viceroyalty of Prince Shah Shujā, Rājmaḥal became again the capital of Bengal.

In 1660, Mīr Jumla, the first Governor of Aurangzīb, again transferred the capital to Dacca.

In 1704 Murshid Qulī Khān for the last time removed the capital from Dacca to Murshidābād, and this place remained the seat of Moslem rule till the battle of Plassey.¹ After 1757, Calcutta finally became the capital of Bengal, as well as—until 1912—the capital of India.

¹M. Chakravarti (*idem*).

It may be noted that according to Cunningham (*op. cit.*, pp. 41 and 113) the name *Gaur* is probably derived from *Gūr*, the common Bengali word for molasses or raw sugar. Even now, sugar-cane is extensively grown throughout the area of the former province of *Gaur* (or *Varendra*, as it was also called), and Cunningham suggests the city might have been the mart where all the sugar of the northern districts was collected for exportation. Similarly the name of the pargana *Aulambara*, in which Tānda was situated, was probably derived from the name of a well-known variety of sugar-cane.

A still earlier capital of the province (600—800 A.D.) was *Paundra Vardhana*, the present Mahāsthān on the river Karatoya, 7 miles north of the modern town of Bogra. Cunningham considers that the word *Paundra* is derived from *Pandra*, the name of the pale-yellow sugar-cane ; while he connects the name of the western gate of Mahāsthān, *Tamra Darwāzah*, with the red or copper-hued (*tamra*) sugar-cane. He further suggests that the *Tamrae*, a people placed by Ptolemy (writing about 150 A.D.) to the east of the head of the Gangetic delta, were the inhabitants of *Varendra*, and that their capital, *Tugna Metropolis*, was Mahāsthān.—H. H. S.

CHAPTER II.

A short account of the more important Viceroys and Kings of Gaur and Pandua.

AFTER the death of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār Khaljī, 'Izzuddīn Muhammad-i-Shirān (1205-08), 'Alī-i-Mardān (1208-11) and Ghiyāsuddīn 'Iwaz (1211-26) successively ruled as Viceroys of Lakhnautī. Ghiyāsuddīn built a fort at Bisān-Kot (now Murcha Bishnupūr on the Kālindrī River) and completed the construction of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār's road from Lakhnautī (identified by Cunningham with Kānkjol, 16 miles south of Rājmahal) to Devkot *viā* Lakhnautī.¹ He adorned the city of Gaur by building several edifices there.² He also compelled the Kings of Kāmrūp, Mithila and Orissa to pay tribute to the court of Gaur.

NĀSIRUDDĪN MAHMŪD SHAH (1226-29), AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Ghiyāsuddīn was defeated and killed by Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, second son of Sultān 'Iltamish, King of Delhi. Nāsiruddīn after a reign of three years died³ and was succeeded by Malik 'Alāuddīn Jānī (1229), Saifuddīn (1229-33) and 'Izzuddīn Tughril (1233-44) successively. During the Viceroyalty of 'Izzuddīn the Hindu King of Orissa blockaded the city of Gaur, but was driven back with the help of a force sent by the famous Queen of Delhi, Riziya Begam. Forty years later, in the reign of Sultān Balban of Delhi, another Tughril (who styled himself Mughīsuddīn) assumed the sovereignty of Gaur in defiance of the supreme power of Delhi. Upon this, Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Balban invaded Bengal in person, killed Tughril, and bestowed the kingdom of Lakhnautī on his son, Bughra Khān, who is better known in history as Sultān Nāsiruddīn. He ruled in Lakhnautī for 9 years (1283-91). His son Muizuddīn Kaiqobād ascended the throne of Delhi after the death of Sultān Balban, while the father remained content with the Governorship of Bengal. After Bughra Khān came, in succession, his two sons, Ruknuddīn (1291-1301) and Shamsuddīn Firūz Shah (1301-1322), and four grandsons Jalāluddīn Mahmūd (1307?), Shihābuddīn (1317-18), Ghiyāsuddīn (1310-23 and 1325-28) and Nāsiruddīn (1324-26),

¹A part of this road is still to be seen to the west of English Bāzār (*vide* Pl. II). This road, or rather embankment, to some extent obviated the difficulty of communication in the rains when all the country lay submerged under water.

²Minhāj-i-Shirāj, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, visited Lakhnautī in 641 A.H. (1243 A.D.) and noted the material improvements effected by Ghiyāsuddīn.

³The body of Nāsiruddīn, who died at Gaur, was sent to Delhi where it was buried three miles to the west of the Qutb Minār. This tomb is known there as the shrine of Sultān Ghāzī. Nāsiruddīn is referred to in the inscription as "*Malik Mūlūk ash-Sharq*" ('King of Kings of the East').

of whom all but the last were practically independent and minted coins in their own names. Jalāluddīn and Ghiyāsuddīn were permitted to strike coins by their father Shamsuddīn Firūz Shah during his life time, so may be regarded as joint rulers. After the accession of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq to the throne of Delhi Governors were also appointed in Bengal, one of whom was Qadar Khān (1325-38).

Owing to the tyranny and cruelty of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq and the frequent outbreaks of famine, the Delhi Empire had become too weak to hold firmly outlying Provinces. Malik Fakhruddīn, one of the Amīrs of Qadar Khān, proclaimed his independence at Sunārgāon (in Eastern Bengal)—probably in 1338—under the title of Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shah; and shortly afterwards ‘Alī Mubārak, another Amīr, killed Qadar Khān and became for a short time King of Lakhnautī under the title of ‘Alāuddīn Abūl Muzaffar ‘Alī Shah. He in turn was slain by one Ilyās, who thereafter ruled over Northern and Western Bengal under the title of Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shah. Sultān Fakhruddīn continued to reign at Sunārgāon till 1349 when he died and was succeeded by his son Ikhtiyāruddīn Ghāzī Shah : but two or three years later, in 1352, the latter seems to have been conquered by Ilyās Shah, who thus at last became King of the whole of Bengal.



Fig. 1.—COINS OF IKHTIYĀRUDDĪN GHĀZĪ SHAH
(Left 753 A.H. : Right 750 A.H. : both of Sunārgāon).

Regarding these rival Kings, the *Riyāzū-s-Salātīn* has the following :—

“ It is said that Malik ‘Alī Mubārak, who, as King, was styled Sultān ‘Alāuddīn, was one of the trusted servants of Malik Firūz [subsequently Firūz Shah III of Delhi] and Malik Firūz was a brother's son of Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Tughlaq Shah, and a paternal cousin of Sultān Muhammad Shah, who, in the first year of his reign, made Malik Firūz his chief executive officer (*Nā'ib Bārbak*). Now at this time, Hājī Ilyās, the foster-brother of ‘Alī Mubārak, did something wicked and fled from Delhi. Malik Firūz asked ‘Alī Mubārak what had become of Hājī Ilyās. ‘Alī Mubārak went in search of him; and when he found no trace of him, he told Malik Firūz that Hājī Ilyās had run away. Firūz scolded him and told him to leave his presence. ‘Alī Mubārak then started for Bengal. On his way, he had a dream and saw the revered saint Makhdūm Jalāluddīn Tabrizī, . . . who said to him, ‘I will give thee the kingdom of Bengal, but thou wilt have to build me a shrine.’ ‘Alī Mubārak put the finger of acceptance on his eye, and asked where it was to be built. The saint replied, ‘In the town of Pandua, at a place where thou wilt see three bricks

one over the other, and below them a fresh rose of one hundred petals.' When 'Alī Mubārak arrived in Bengal he entered the service of Qadar Khān [the Imperial Governor of Lakhnautī], and ultimately received the command (*bakshīqārī*) of the army. But when Fakhruddīn revolted against Qadar Khān, and, after killing his master, proclaimed himself King, 'Alī Mubārak also proclaimed himself King, under the title of Sultān 'Alāuddīn. He then made war upon Fakhruddīn, and avenged (the murder of) his master. Posting a garrison in Lakhnautī, 'Alāuddīn marched to subjugate other parts of Bengal; but from the time he introduced the *Khutbah*, and struck coins in his own name, he became intoxicated with luxury and success and thus forgot the instruction of the saint. One night Jalāluddīn again appeared to him and said, 'O 'Alāuddīn, thou art now King of Bengal, but thou hast forgotten my word.' The King next day searched for the bricks, and found them just as the saint had described. There he built a shrine, traces of which still exist to this day. Now about this time Hājī Ilyās also arrived in Pandua. Sultān 'Alāuddīn put him into prison for some time; but, at last, at the request of his mother who had been Sultān 'Alāuddīn's foster mother, he set him at liberty, and giving him a post, allowed him to come to court. Hājī Ilyās in a short time found means to gain over the army, killed 'Alāuddīn with the help of the eunuchs and proclaimed himself King under the name of Shamsuddīn Bhangra."¹

SHAMSUDDĪN ILYĀS SHAH (1339-58).

After the year 1352, when Ilyās Shah became King of the whole of Bengal, the country attained great prosperity. He extended his kingdom further west as far as the territory of Benāres. This led the Emperor Firūz Shah III

¹This name is incorrect, *Bhangra* being only a nickname to indicate his addiction to *hashish*, a preparation of hemp (*bhang*). Ilyās' full regnal title was Shamsudduniyā wa-d-dīn Abūl Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh.

The account of the *Riyāz* is valuable, in showing the previous relation of 'Alāuddīn, Shamsuddīn and Firūz Shah, but probably does not give the entire story. The 16th Cent. Persian Ms., which was obtained by Buchanan Hamilton from Pandua, states that the reason for which 'Alāuddīn had to leave Delhi was that his foster brother Hājī Ilyās had seduced one of Firūz's women. Firūz sent 'Alāuddīn to the Governor of Bengal (called in the Ms. Azmat Khān—? A'zamu-l-Mulk, Muhammad bin Tughlaq's Governor of Satgāon) and on the way he met Shaikh Jalāl Tabrizī who prophesied that he would be King and requested that 'Alāuddīn would then bestow an endowment on him. On arriving in Bengal, 'Alāuddīn (in order presumably to prevent himself from being killed or otherwise punished) at once killed the Governor and having seized the sovereignty styled himself *Mukhtār*. [This office he is said to have held for the impossible period of 20 years.]

As 'Alāuddīn probably neglected the Saint, Shah Jalāl is said to have then assisted Shamsuddīn to kill 'Alāuddīn, after which Shamsuddīn assumed the title of King, and fixed the seat of his Government at Pandua. There Shamsuddīn built a great palace, and he also made war on Ibrāhīm, the Governor of Bihār. This, and other matters, caused his old master Firūz Shah (who became Emperor of Delhi in 1351) to invade Bengal, as is narrated subsequently.—H. E. S.

of Delhi to declare war against him. The Emperor reached Bengal in 1354 and Ilyās having abandoned the city of Pandua took refuge in the fort of Ekdāla. In a battle that followed the son of Ilyās Shah was captured by the Emperor, and, according to Shams-i-Sirāj Afif, the death roll of Bengal soldiers amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand. The weeping wives of the soldiers, says the historian, appeared on the ramparts of Ekdāla with their veils removed, at which the Emperor relented and ordered hostilities to cease. While the siege of Ekdāla was going on a *Faqīr* named Rājā Biyabānī, who was greatly revered by Ilyās Shah, died. Ilyās, on hearing of the death of the *Faqīr*, came out of the besieged fort in the garb of a mendicant, and after performing the funeral ceremonies of the *Faqīr*, actually interviewed the Emperor in his camp, and then returned to Ekdāla. The Emperor afterwards came to learn of all this and is said to have been greatly pleased at the boldness of Ilyās. The war closed with a peace, by which Ilyās Shah was made to pay tribute to the Emperor, who ordered the release of Ilyās Shah's son and the other captives.



Fig. 2.—COINS OF SHAMSUDDIN ILYĀS SHAH.

Obverse.—*As-Sultān al-ʿĀdil Shamsudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Ilyās Shah As-Sultān.*

Reverse.—*Sikandar ath-thānī Yamīn-ul-Khilāfat Nāsir Amīr-ul-Mūminīn.*

Margin of Reverse of righthand coin :—*Hādha-s-sikkah bi-Hazrat Jalāl Sunārgānūr sanah thalath wa khamsin wa saba' mī'atīn* (Mint Sunārgānūr : Year 753 A.H.).

From the dates given by the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akhbarī* it appears that Firūz Shah took about five months to reach Ekdāla from Delhi and that, after stopping in Bengal for about two months, he took three and a half months more in going back to Delhi.

As regards the identification of the site of the strong fort at Ekdāla the following statements are useful :—

Ziyauddīn Baranī states that it was near Pandua. The author of the *Riyāz* on the other hand apparently thinks that it was close to Gaur, and states that Husain Shah later made it his favourite residence in preference to both Gaur and Pandua. Shams-i-Sirāj Afif refers to the 'islands of Ekdāla.' The site of Ekdāla might be definitely settled by finding the tomb of Makhdūm Shaikh Rājā Biyabānī, for it was probably near Ekdāla, seeing that Hājī Ilyās came out of the fort in disguise and attended the funeral while he was besieged.

by Firūz Shah. As the situation of Biyabānī's tomb has now been identified at Bolbāri, about four miles east of the Adina Mosque, it may fairly be said that the fort Ekdāla must have been close to Pandua; and the most probable site seems to the writer to be the old fort of Biān-Kot or Kālāpahār-garhi at Murcha, which was built by Ghiyāsuddīn Iwaz, and is eight miles west of Pandua. The descriptions of the fort of Ekdāla given by the old historians are also exactly applicable to the present site, viz., the place is still surrounded by an earthen rampart and the central portion is just like an island. It has a big *jhil* on the north side extending a long distance from east to west and it was formerly protected by the dense jungle of Ekbanua on the west side. It was also connected with the river Kālindri to the south by a water-course. According to Firishta, the place was about seven *kos* from the Ganges which is still more or less the case. It is said that Firūz Shah encamped on the plain of Chauduār on the east side of Murcha, where certain mounds still exist indicating the emplacements of his guns.¹

The *Riyāz-us-Salātin* says that after the struggle with Firūz Shah Sultān Shamsuddīn sent envoys to the court of Delhi on several occasions. The last was in 758 A.H. (1357 A.D.) evidently early in the year when he sent Malik Tajuddīn with many presents and gifts. In return Sultān Firūz Shah sent from Delhi Arab and Turkish horses, together with other valuable presents. Before, however, they could arrive Sultān Shamsuddīn had died in Bengal. The appearance of coins of his son Sikandar Shah in the same year confirms this conclusion.

SIKANDAR SHAH I (1358-99).

Sikandar Shah is said to have been four cubits (six feet) in height according to the measure of his own arm, from which he is commonly known as Sikandar-i-Chowhatta. Firūz Shah again invaded Bengal in the year after Sikandar

¹ If the suggestion that Murcha-Ekdāla be correct, it implies that Hyās Shāh, instead of retiring, advanced to occupy a position that would cover both Gaur and Pandua. It also explains why Pandua was not plundered. The chief objection is that the name Ekdāla does not seem to be still applied to any place in the vicinity of Murcha. Moreover, as the Ms. from Pandua, from which the account of Bengal history given by Buchanan Hamilton and Franklin is derived, states that Hyās Shah retired to *Ghorāghāt*, I am more inclined to agree with Westmacott (J. A. S. B., 1874, pp. 244-245) that Ekdāla is the place of that name in the Dinājpur district, 15 miles west of Ghorāghāt and 23 miles north of Pandua. Part of this site is still called *Qasbah* (citadel); and I have recently confirmed *in situ* not only Westmacott's suggestion that this site is really the Ekdāla of history (which, according to the *Riyāz*, Husain Shah made his favourite residence and from which he went every year on foot to Pandua, to visit the shrine of Nūr Qutb), but also Buchanan Hamilton's statement that Husain Shah had another residence at a place—still called Chhota Parua—near Raiganj, 18 miles further from this Ekdāla to the north.

Bolbāri is a local name for the village Balihāri, but, as was pointed out to me by Mr. M. Carter, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Māldah, the grave in question is at the village of Almāspūr, immediately to the north. The saint is called by the villagers Hazrat Biyabānī, or 'Sekra Pir'.—H. E. S.

Shah's accession but was bought off by a present of 40 elephants and other gifts, and thereafter the reign of Sikandar Shah was one of great peace and prosperity. He spent many years of his reign in building the Adīna Mosque.



Fig. 3.—OBVERSES OF TWO COINS OF SIKANDAR SHAH IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM CABINET, THE FIRST WITH MINT CHĀWALISTĀN OR KĀMRŪ : THE SECOND OF SUNĀRGĀNW. DATE IN BOTH CASES 750 A.H.

Reading of area :—*Yamīn Khalīfat Allāhi
Nāsir Amīrul-Mūminīn.*

Reading of margin :—*Darb hādha-s-sikkah
Mulk Chāwalistān 'urf 'Arsah Kāmru* [right
hand coin *Hazrat Jalāl Sunārgānw*] *sanah
tisa' wa khamīsīn wa sab'a mī'atīn.*

GHIYĀSUDDĪN A'ZAM SHAH (1390-1410).

Ghiyāsuddīn was in revolt against his father Sikandar Shah in Eastern Bengal for some years before he came to the throne. He ultimately marched against his father and attacked him with a large army at Goālpārā (possibly the village three miles to the south-west of the Adīna Mosque) where Sikandar Shah was killed about the year 1390.¹

ANECDOTES OF GHIYĀSUDDĪN.

Ghiyāsuddīn was a good ruler and adhered strictly to the injunctions of the *Qur'ān*. In proof of this the following anecdotes are related of him in the *Riyāzu-s-Salātīn*. One day, while the King was amusing himself in the practice of archery, one of his arrows by chance wounded a boy, the son of a widow. The woman immediately repaired to the tribunal of the Qāzī (Judge) Sirājuddīn, and demanded justice. The Judge was perplexed and said to himself, "If I summon the King to my Court, I shall run the risk of being disobeyed, and if I pass over his transgression, I shall be one day summoned before the Court of Allāh to answer for my neglect of duty." After much reflection he ordered a peon to go and summon the King to answer the complaint of the woman. The peon, finding access to the King impossible, ascended the minaret of the mosque adjoining the palace, and at an improper hour called the people

¹ *Wāq. Ind.* p. 139, and note.

to prayers. The King, hearing his voice, ordered some of his guards to bring before him the man who thus made a mockery of religion.

When the poon was brought into the Royal presence, he briefly related the circumstances, and concluded by summoning His Majesty to the Qāzī's tribunal. The King instantly obeyed, and the Judge, without paying him any mark of respect, said to him in a tone of authority, "You have wounded the son of this poor widow, and you must therefore immediately make her adequate compensation, or suffer the sentence of the Law." The King bowed, and turning to the woman gave her such a sum of money as satisfied her: after which he said, "Worthy Judge, the complainant has forgiven me." The Qāzī asked the woman if this was a fact, and if she was satisfied. The woman said, "Yes, I am satisfied." The Qāzī then came down from his tribunal, and made his obeisance to the King, who, drawing a sword from beneath his garment, said, "Qāzī, in obedience to your commands as the expounder of the Sacred Law, I came instantly to your tribunal; but if I had found that you deviated in the smallest degree from its ordinances, I swear that with this sword I would have taken off your head. I return thanks to Allāh that matters have thus happily terminated, and that I have in my dominions a Judge who acknowledges no authority superior to the Law." The Judge taking up a scourge said, "I also swear by Almighty Allāh that if you had not complied with the injunctions of the Law, this scourge would have made your back red and black; it has been a day of trial for us both," and he added "A calamity has come but it has ended well." The King was greatly pleased and handsomely rewarded the upright Judge.

Ghiyāsuddīn was of a gay and convivial disposition, but once, when in Eastern Bengal, having for some time suffered from a severe illness, he despaired of his life and directed that when he was dead three of his favourite concubines, whose names were *Sarv* (Cypress), *Gul* (Rose) and *Lālah* (Tulip), should wash his body. The King soon afterwards recovered, but the other women of the *harem*, being envious of the favourites, conferred on them the opprobrious title of "Ghassālah" (Washers of the Dead). In consequence of this the favourites complained to the King, who, after thinking for some time, uttered the following extempore hemistich "*Sāqī Hadīs-i-Sarv u Gul u Lālah Mīrawād*" [Cup bearer! this is the story of the *Sarv* (Cypress), the *Gul* (Rose) and the *Lālah* (Tulip)]. But in spite of several attempts, he could not finish the verse, nor could any of the poets of his Court, to his satisfaction. He therefore wrote out the hemistich and sent it, accompanied with a valuable present, by the hands of a special messenger, to the celebrated poet Hāfiz of Shirāz, in Persia, in the year 1388. The messenger was also authorised to offer the poet any terms that might induce him to come and reside at the Court of Bengal. It is said that as soon as the messenger arrived in Shirāz, the poet, without having been informed of any of the circumstances, but as if by inspiration, uttered the second hemistich. "*In bahs bā Salāsīl-i-ghassāla mīrawād*" (This story relates to the three bathers). After this, Hāfiz composed a *Ghazal*,

still to be found in his *Diwān*, each verse of which terminates with the word *mīrawad*. The original Persian text of the *Ghazal* is given below : followed by H. Bicknell's free translation of the first three verses, the fifth, and the last verse of the poem—

ساقی حدیث سرور گل و لاله میبرد
 این بحث با ثلاثه غساله میبرد
 می ده که نور عروس چمن حد حسن یافت
 کار این زمان ز صنعت دلاله میبرد
 شکر شکن شوزد همه طوطیان هند
 زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میبرد
 طی مکان ببین و زمان در سلوک شعر
 کاین طفل یکشبه ره یکساله میبرد
 باد بهار میوزد از بوستان شاه
 رز ژاله باده در قدح لاله میبرد
 آن چشم جادوانه عابد فریب بین
 کش کاروان سحر بدنباله میبرد
 شوی کرده میخیزد و بر عارضش سمن
 از شرم روی از عرق از ژاله میبرد
 ایمن مشور ز عشوه دنیا که این عجز
 مکاره می نشیند و محبتانه میبرد
 حافظ ز شرق مجلس سلطان غیاث دین
 خامش مشور که کار تو از ناله میبرد

Sāqī ! The cypress, rose, and tulip our gay
 discourse inspires :

With brimming cups that thrice are emptied,
 the topic fails to tire.

Drink wine ! our blooming bride, the meadow,
 shines forth in beauty's height ;

No need of the Dalilah's practice while
 days like these delight.

How happy in their sugar-pecking these
 Indian parrots all,
 Who banquet on this Persian candy
 transmitted to Bengal.

From the Shah's garden, rich with flowers,
 the breeze of spring time blows,
 And wine within the tulip's chalice,
 from limpid dew drops flows.

O Hâfiz for the love thou bearest
 Sultân Ghiyâsuddîn,
 Break silence ; for complaining only
 can make thy lot serene.

Though Hâfiz probably desired to accept the invitation he feared the trouble of the long journey, and finally declined the King's offer to reside at his court.

Sultân Ghiyâsuddîn was a fellow student of Hazrat Nûr Qutbul 'Ālam (*vide* later p. 106) : they both studied Theology under a teacher called Hamîduddîn.

SUCCESSORS OF GHIYÂSUDDÎN.

After Ghiyâsuddîn's death, a short period of Hindu domination seems to have begun, though Ghiyâsuddîn was actually succeeded by his son Saifuddîn Hamzah Shah. Saifuddîn reigned for only a short time—possibly 1411-12. On the coins he is called Saifuddîn Abûl Mujâhid Hamzah Shah, son of A'zam Shah. The coins issued by him were struck at Fîrûzâbâd (or Panduah).

After Saifuddîn, a certain Shamsuddîn *alias* Shihâbuddîn Bâyezîd Shah came to the throne—possibly for two or three years (1412-14). In 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) the coinage shows that 'Alâuddîn Fîrûz Shah succeeded his father Shihâbuddîn, but apparently he only survived for a short period—perhaps less than one year (*vide* the coins of Bâyezîd and Fîrûz Shah, illustrated by Nalini Kânta Bhattâsali in his "Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultâns of Bengal," Plates VI and VII). The last three Kings were probably only puppets of a certain Râjâ Kâns, or Ganesha, who had obtained control of Bengal after the death of Ghiyâsuddîn. He began to oppress the Muhammadans, and his wholesale murders and other acts of cruelty so strained the patience and forbearance of Hazrat Nûr Qutbul 'Ālam

who was the spiritual leader both of the late King and his Musalmān subjects, that the Saint invited Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī of Jaunpūr to invade the country. The latter with a powerful army reached Bengal and encamped at Fīrūzpūr (Old Māldah). Rājā Kāns, on hearing this news, was terror-stricken, and hastened to wait on the Saint Qutbul 'Ālam. Showing submissiveness and humility, and weeping, the Rājā said, "Pray draw the pen of forgiveness across the page of the offences of this sinner, and dissuade Sultān Ibrāhīm from subjugating this country." The Saint replied, "In order to intercede on behalf of an oppressive infidel, I cannot stand in the way of a Musalmān Sovereign, especially of one who has come at my request and desire." In despair, Rājā Kāns bowed his head to the feet of the Saint, and said, "Whatever the Saint may bid, I am willing to submit thereto." The Saint replied, "So long as thou dost not embrace Islām, I cannot intercede for thee." The Rājā at first agreed to this condition, but later his wife, "casting that misguided man into the well of misguidance", prevented his conversion to Islām. At last Rājā Kāns brought into the presence of the Saint his son named Jadu who was twelve years old, and said, "I have become old, and desire to retire from the world. You may convert to Islām this son of mine, and then bestow on him the kingdom of Bengal." The Saint thereupon converted Jadu to Islām; and naming him Jalāluddīn, had the fact proclaimed in the city, and caused the *Khutbah* of the kingdom of Bengal to be recited in his name. The ordinances of Muhammadan law from that day were again put in force, and the saint Qutbul 'Ālam went to meet Sultān Ibrāhīm. After making apologies, he begged Sultān Ibrāhīm to withdraw, whereupon the Sultān returned in great annoyance to Jaunpūr.

Rājā Kāns, shortly after the Sultān of Jaunpūr had left Bengal, displaced Sultān Jalāluddīn, and himself re-ascended the throne. According to the injunctions of his creed, the Rājā prepared several large gold figures of cows, and having passed Jalāluddīn through their hollow interiors, he then distributed the gold of those cow figures among the Brahmins, thus in theory reconverting his son to his own creed. As, however, Jalāluddīn had been converted by the Saint Qutbul 'Ālam, he did not abandon his faith in Islām, and the persuasions of the infidels had no effect on his heart. His father Rājā Kāns, on the other hand, again unfurling the standard of misbehaviour, attempted to destroy and extirpate Muhammadans. At length his emissaries killed Shaikh Anwar, son of the Saint himself, and it is said that, on the very day and at the very moment when Anwar was murdered at Sunārgāon, Rājā Kāns died. According to some accounts, his son Jalāluddīn, who had been put in prison, conspired with his father's servants, and slew him.¹

The period from 818 A.H. to 821 A.H. (1415-18 A.D.) is very obscure, but possibly Rājā Kāns (or Ganesh) actually seized the throne under the title of

¹*Riyāzu-s-Salātīn*, Khān Bahādūr Abdus-Salām's translation, pp. 116-17 (slightly summarised).

JALĀLUDDĪN MUHAMMAD SHAH (1415-31).

Jadu Jalāluddīn, when he again became King, recalled the learned and holy men who had been dispersed on account of the cruelty and oppressions of his father and showed them consideration and honour. He is said to have revenged himself on the Brahmīns who had shared the golden cows after his father's attempt to reconvert him, by making them eat beef, and to have been very zealous throughout his reign in the conversion of Hindus to Muhammadanism. During his reign the government acquired great stability and power and the town of Pandua became extremely populous. Jalāluddīn is said to have built several edifices both in Gaur and Pandua, and, when he died in 1431 A.D., he was buried in the famous Eklākhī Mausoleum at Pandua. The full title he used on his coins was Jalāludduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar (or Mujāhid) Muhammad Shah as-Sultān.

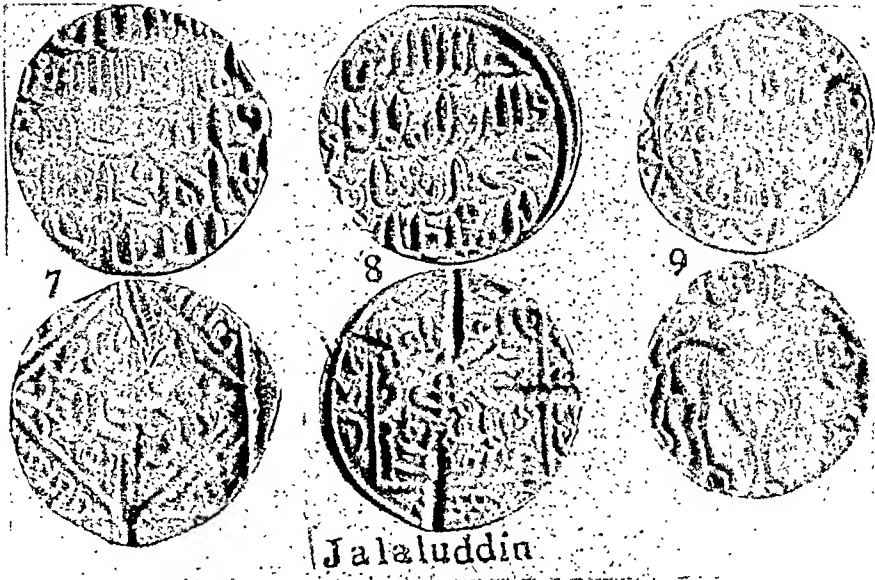


Fig. 5.—COINS OF JALĀLUDDĪN MUHAMMAD SHAH

Reading of No. 8.

Obverse.

Jalāludduniyā
waddīn Abūl Muzaffar
Muhammad Shāh
As-Sultān.

Reverse.

Nāsir
Amīrul-Mūminīn
Ghauthul-Islām
wal-Muslimīn.

Margin of Reverse—

Top : *Darʿ.*Left : *Sanah thamān.*Bottom : *ʿAshar.*Right : *Wā thamān miʿatīn.*

AHMAD SHAH (1431-42).

He was succeeded by his son, Ahmad Shah, who was a great tyrant and wantonly butchered men and women, so that the people became disaffected. At last Shadi Khan and Nasir Khan, who were nobles of his court, assassinated him and the latter seized the throne. He was however soon slain by his fellow conspirators.

NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH (1442-59).

After Nasir Khan was killed, the nobles raised to the throne a descendant of Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah, called Mahmud, who assumed the regnal title of Nasiruddin. He recalled those courtiers who had left the country during the reign of Ahmad Shah, and the reputation of his excellent qualities attracted people to his dominions from other territories. The Fort at Gaur and other buildings there were probably erected by him, and he enjoyed a long and undisturbed reign. The very high standard of beauty in rapidary inscriptions that was again reached in the time of Mahmud Shah, and of his successors during the next 25 years, may be seen from the reproductions given in Plates VI, IV and III.

BARBAK SHAH (1459-74).

After Nasiruddin, his son, Ruknuddin Barbak Shah, ascended the throne. He was an excellent ruler. During his reign, both his subjects and the army were in a happy and prosperous condition.

From Barbak Shah's coins and inscriptions, his full title appears to have been Ruknuddunyā waddin Abul Muḥammad Barbak Shah. His reign probably commenced in 864 A.H. (1459 A.D.), but—as appears from the inscription, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1870 (p. 290)—before that he ruled as Governor of South-Western Bengal in 860 A.H. (1455 A.D.). The Dīnāpur inscription (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, p. 272) proves that Barbak Shah undoubtedly reigned as King in Bengal from the beginning of 865 A.H. (1460 A.D.).

YUSUF SHAH (1474-81).

Barbak was succeeded by his son Yusuf Shah. This Sultan is said to have been a sovereign of mild temper, a benefactor of his people, just, learned and religious. He was fond of putting up particularly large inscriptions in mosques, e.g., those given later on page 77 (and Plate III), and page 116. From these it will be seen that his full name was Shamsuddunyā waddin Abul Muḥammad Yusuf Shah; and he appears to have reigned from 879 to 886 A.H. (1474-81 A.D.).

FATH SHAH (1481-86).

Sultān Fath Shah, a son of Nāsiruddīn, may be said to have been the next King of Bengal, as owing to the fact that Yūsuf Shah's son, Sikandar, had a touch of lunacy, he was only allowed to reign for half a day. Fath Shah was learned and wise, and ruled in accordance with the principles of his predecessors.¹ It is stated that he was killed by Bārbak, a eunuch-slave, who seized the throne under the title of Sultān Shāhzāda Bārbak, though no coins minted by this man are known. Bārbak filled the court with low class people, and after a reign of nearly eight months was put to death by a negro General called Malik Andil, who then occupied the throne under the title of Saifuddīn Fīrūz Shah.

SAIFUDDĪN FĪRŪZ SHAH (1486-89).

Under the just and beneficent rule of Fīrūz Shah his subjects enjoyed a happy life. He was beloved for his generosity by the common people and soldiery : none of the Afghān or Turkish chiefs dared to rebel against him.

Anecdote of Fīrūz Shah.

The following anecdote illustrates his liberality : On some public occasion the King having ordered a lakh of rupees to be distributed to the poor, the ministers thought he was being too generous, owing to either his lack of knowledge of the value of money, or of the amount he had ordered to be paid. They, therefore, piled up the money in a heap in the hope that he would notice it and be surprised at the quantity of the silver coins. When the King entered the apartment and saw the heap of money he asked why it was put there ; and on being told it was the sum he had that morning ordered to be given to the poor, he said : " Is this all ? It is too little ; add another lakh." The ministers were astonished at his prodigality, but were obliged to conform to his wishes. A mosque was constructed at Gaur in Fīrūz Shah's reign, and another mosque inscription, bearing his name, has been found at the *Katrā* at Old Māldah (*vide* Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, Plate 49, No. 8). He reigned nearly three years, and died a natural death in 895 A.H. (A.D. 1489).

¹From coins and inscriptions (*e.g.*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, pp. 281-6), his full regnal title is seen to have been Jalāludduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Fath Shah. Some of his coins were struck at Fathābād (Faridpūr town) in 886 and 892 A.H. (1481 and 1486 A.D.), and one in the Indian Museum cabinet, dated 887 A.H., has the Mint name Muhammadābād, which may indicate that Fath Shah's capital was situated at the northern end of the *Sāgar Dighī*—*vide* note 1, p. 92, *infra*. An inscription in which his learning is eulogised will be found on p. 87 (note), with a reproduction in Plate IV.—H. E. S.

NÂSIRUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH II (1489-90).

Sultân Mahmûd Shah, the eldest son of Firuz Shah, was placed on the throne after his father's death, but after a nominal reign of one year he was assassinated by another negro called Sîdî Badr who usurped the throne under the title of Aluzaffar Shah.

SHAKSBUDDIN MUZAFFAR SHAH (1490-93).

Muzaffar Shah is said to have been a very cruel king. He put to death all men who were dissatisfied with him. At last Saïyid Husain,¹ who was his Wazîr (Minister), in conjunction with the other Amirs revolted, and after killing Muzaffar in battle, assumed the sovereignty under the name of 'Alâuddin Husain Shah. The inscription belonging to a *Jamî* Mosque which may have been the one recorded by the author of the *Riyâz* as having been built by Muzaffar Shah at Gaur will be found printed (with a slightly incorrect translation) in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for December, 1890 (p. 242). The slab is now lying in the garden of the District Magistrate at Maldah. Several other beautiful inscriptions bearing the name of this King are also known (e.g., *infra*, p. 114).

HUSAIN SHAH (1493-1519).

Husain Shah was King of Bengal from 1493 A.D. to 1519 A.D. He belonged to a very high and respectable family, and was unequalled in learning and personal qualities. During his reign, Bengal was in a highly flourishing and prosperous condition, and innumerable Musalmâns of all orders poured into it from other provinces of India and elsewhere. He is said to have endowed the shrine of the Saint Nur Qutbul 'Alam at Pandua with the revenue of many villages. In the reign of Husain Shah, many rich men inhabited Gaur, and the use of gold and silver dishes on festive occasions was common. The art of architecture was brought to a high degree of perfection in his time. During the reign of this King, people lived in perfect peace and cultivated the arts and literature. Thus his Bengal Ministers, Rûp and Sanâtan, wrote several Sanskrit books. Husain Shah built a gate of the Fort, and many other edifices in Gaur. He destroyed the Ramnagar kingdom (the present Kuch Bihar) and invaded Orissa. He made an attempt to conquer Bihar, but was opposed by Silikandar Lodî and had to enter into a treaty with that monarch. He was a just king and built numerous mosques and *madrâsas*.

¹Firishhta calls him Saïyid Sharîf Malik, but in the same work Firishhta says that he is 'Alâuddunyâ waddin Abul Muzaffar Husain Shah, and in the same work Firishhta says that he is 'Alâuddunyâ waddin Abul Muzaffar Husain Shah. Nowhere on coins and inscriptions is he called Saïyid Sharîf Malik. (Society of Bengal, 1873, pp. 292-93).

Birth-place of Husain Shah.

There are several stories as to the birth-place of Husain Shah. According to some, he was born at Mecca, while others give the town of Tirmīz (in Turkistan) as his birth-place. His father was Saiyid Ashraf al-Husainī, and his brother was named Yūsuf Shah. After coming to Bengal, Husain's father took up his residence at Chāndpūr in the Jangipūr subdivision (now in the Murshidābād district). It was here that Husain and his brother were educated by the Qāzī of the place, who, on learning of Husain's noble descent, gave him his daughter in marriage and procured him service under Muzaffar Shah with whom the Qāzī had considerable influence. In a short time Husain rose to the position of Prime Minister; and ultimately, after Muzaffar Shah's death, he became Lord of Bengal.

Ministers of Husain Shah.

The Prime Minister of Husain Shah was Purandar Khān, a *Kāyastha* by caste (his original name being Gopīnāth Bose). Two brothers, Sanātan and Rūp, were his other Ministers, the former being given the title Dabīr Khās, and the latter being styled Shākīr Malik. Next to Purandar Khān, these two Brahmins held the principal posts in the administration of the kingdom. Both of them were very intelligent and extremely learned, and Husain Shah became all the more attached to them as his kingdom grew in prosperity under the advice of these able councillors.

The two brothers were well read in Sanskrit and Persian, and had their residence at Rāmkeli, a village in the southern part of Gaur. At that time, Rāmkeli was inhabited by many respectable people. A large tank called Rūp-Sāgar, dug by Rūp, is still to be seen there, to the north of which is another tank, called Sanātan-Sāgar, which was excavated by Sanātan.

Visit of Chaitanya to Gaur.

Chaitanya, the great religious reformer of Bengal, arrived at Gaur in the month of *Jeth* (June) on his way to Brindaban—probably towards the end of Husain Shah's reign—and stayed for a few days at Rāmkeli. In the *Chaitanya-mangal* of Jayānandā, Rāmkeli is called Krishnakeli. At Rāmkeli, Rūp and Sanātan paid a visit to Chaitanya and had a talk with him. Chaitanya's visit to Rāmkeli is still commemorated by a grand fair which is annually held there in the month of June. After Chaitanya's departure from Gaur, Rūp and Sanātan grew tired of worldly affairs and finally Sanātan submitted his resignation to the King, who angrily ordered his imprisonment in the State Jail. Sanātan is said to have effected his escape from prison by bribing the jailor while Husain Shah was engaged on

an invasion of Orissa. The jailor's name is given as Shaikh Habboo, a resident of Fathpur. The site of Habboo's house, now a total ruin, may be seen in the village. According to the *Champak Kalika* a bribe of one lakh of rupees was paid to the jailor. The *Chaitanya Charitamrita* puts the sum at some thousands. Rûp and Sanâtan spent the last years of their lives at Brindaban where they attained, as *sannyâsis*, even greater reputation and honour than they previously had as Ministers.

NASRAT SHAH (1519-32).

In the reign of Sultan Nasrat Shah, son and successor of Husain Shah, the Mughal King Babar, after putting to death Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, seated himself on the throne of Delhi and brought most of the provinces of Hindustan under his sway. Many of the chiefs and nobles of Delhi fled and sought the protection of Nasrat Shah. Even Sultan Mahmud, brother of the late Emperor, fled to Bengal and obtained the grant of *parganas* and villages for his maintenance in a manner befitting his rank and position, and his sister, who had also taken refuge in Gaur, was wedded to the Sultan of Bengal. Nasrat Shah erected the building of the *Qadam Rasul* and the great Golden Mosque at Gaur. The tomb of the Saint Makhdum Akhi Sirajuddin was also repaired by him. It is said that Nasrat Shah was killed while asleep by a servant.

FIRUZ SHAH II (1532).

Firuz Shah succeeded his father Nasrat Shah. According to the *Riyâz*, he reigned for three years, but his coins and inscriptions are all dated A.H. 939 (A.D. 1532) only. We may thus infer that he reigned for one year or even less. Stewart, who based his History of Bengal on a manuscript of the *Riyâz*, mentions "three months." Firuz was killed by his uncle Mahmud Shah who then ascended the throne.

GHIVÂSUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH (1532-38), AND SHER SHAH (1537-45).

Mahmud Shah, the brother of Nasrat Shah, having killed his nephew, seized the throne, but after a few years was deposed by Sher Shah of Bihâr. Mahmud Shah took shelter with the son of Bâbar, Humâyûn, who invaded and took possession of Gaur in 1538: but as Mahmud, who had been wounded, died at Colgong before reaching Gaur, Humâyûn became lord of Bengal. The Mughal King stayed in Gaur for three months and changed its ominous name—Gaur means 'a grave' in Persian—to Jannatâbâd ('the City of Paradise'). In the meantime Sher Shah, who had gone to Bihâr, arranged to prevent Humâyûn from returning to Delhi. He met Humâyûn at the junction of the Ganges and the Karam-nasa (near Buxâr), and detained him there for about three

months. A treaty was at last concluded between Sher Shah and Humāyūn with a condition that if Sher Shah was acknowledged as independent monarch of Bengal, Humāyūn would be allowed to go to Delhi unmolested. Sher Shah, however, then treacherously attacked the force of Humāyūn at night, and defeated him there. Humāyūn escaped death by swimming across the river, and ultimately reached Agra with only a few followers.

Battle of Kanauj.

Sher Shah coming back to Bengal, collected an army of 50,000 Pathans and others, and a battle was fought at Kanauj in 1540. Humāyūn, being defeated, fled to Persia, and Sher Shah became Emperor of Delhi as well as King of Bengal. He divided Bengal proper into several parts and placed each division under a local chief. He fixed one-fourth of the gross produce as the rent of the land, and made a road from Sunārgāon to the river Indus which was planted with trees on both sides of the road, and was well provided with wells and *sarāīs* at convenient distances. Sher Shah died in 1545.

MUHAMMAD KHĀN (1552-54).

After the death of Sher Shah, his son, Islām Shah, deputed Muhammad Khān Sūr to be Governor of Bengal : but after Islām's death in 1552, 'Ādil Shah usurped the throne of Delhi by killing Islām's son. At this time, Muhammad Khān declared himself as independent monarch of Bengal under the title Shamsuddīn Muhammad Ghāzī Shah and also annexed Jaunpūr. Less than two years later, however, he was killed by a Hindu named Himoo, the General of 'Ādil Shah.

GHIYĀSUDDĪN BAHĀDUR SHAH II (1554-60).

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son, Bahādur Shah, who, in the year 1557, avenged his father's death by killing 'Ādil Shah in the battle of Monghyr with the assistance of Sulaimān Karārānī, Governor of South Bihār. He reigned over Bengal for six years. In the year previous to 'Ādil Shah's death the Mughals had regained the throne of Delhi from the Sūris by the battle of Pānipat, fought on November 5th, 1556.

JALĀLUDDĪN MUHAMMAD SHAH (1560-63).

After Bahādur Shah, his brother Jalāluddīn came to the throne and reigned in the city of Gaur for three years. On his death great confusion ensued in Bengal : but finally Tāj Khān Karārānī was sent by his brother Sulaimān, and having killed a usurper called Ghiyāsuddīn, Tāj Khān ruled Bengal on behalf of his brother for a short time.

SULAIMĀN KHĀN KARAKĀNI (1564-72).

After the death of Taj Khan, his brother Sulaimān Khān Karakāni established himself as practically independent ruler of Bengal and South Bihar. He conquered the country of Orissa and also subjugated part of Kuch Bihar. He removed the capital from Gaur to Tānda. Sulaimān sent some presents to the court of Akbar and professed great friendship with him. For these reasons he was left undisturbed in enjoyment of his kingdom.

BAYAZID (1572).

When Sulaimān died in 1572 his son Bayazid ascended the throne. But in the same year the Pathān Sardars killed Bayazid and placed Dā'ūd Khān (brother of Bayazid) on the throne.

DĀ'ŪD KHĀN (1572-76).

Dā'ūd Khān, who was the last of the Afghān dynasty, refused to pay homage to the Delhi Emperor. This led Akbar to send Muwīn Khān Khān-i-Khānān in 1574 A.D. with a large army to Bengal. Muwīn Khān after a desperate battle was victorious, and Dā'ūd Khān fled. Muwīn did not like Tānda and ordered his soldiers and the inhabitants to remove to Gaur where he fell a victim to the plague which devastated Gaur in the following year. Dā'ūd Khān at once marched against Tānda and reoccupied it, as well as the fort Teligārah on the Ganges. Khān Jahān was then sent to Bengal by the Emperor Akbar as Governor. A decisive battle was fought at Rajmahal in 1576 A.D. in which Dā'ūd Khān was defeated and captured, and then put to death. It is said that his head was sent to Akbar and his body was displayed on the gibbet at Tānda.

Dā'ūd's Mother.

The deceased King's mother, with all her dependents, made an appeal to the Governor for protection and safety, and asked to be permitted to appear personally before him when on tour in the neighbourhood of Tānda. In spite of her remarks, "You, being the servant of a King whilst I am the mother of a King, respect is due to me and not to you," Khān Jahān took pity on her, so that Dā'ūd's mother with all her adherents and many others were saved from death. After some further trouble with the remnant of the Afghāns and their former Brahmin General, Kalāpāhār, Bengal and Bihar, under the administration of Khān Jahān (whose real name was Husain Quli Khān), became subject to the regular government of Akbar.

KHĀN-I-A'ZAM (1582), SHAHBĀZ KHĀN (1584), AND RĀJĀ MĀN SINGH
(1589).

After Husain Qulī Khān, Khān-i-A'zam, Shahbāz Khān and Rājā Mān Singh successively became Governors of Bengal, under the Delhi Emperor. Rājā Mān Singh was the brother-in-law of the Emperor Jahāngīr. He conquered Jagannāth and removed the capital of Bengal to Rājmaḥal, where he built several edifices, the ruins of which exist to the present day¹. He married the sister of the Rājā of Kuch Bihār.

QUTBUDDĪN (1606), JĀHĀNGĪR QULĪ KHĀN (1607), AND ISLĀM KHĀN
(1607-13).

After Mān Singh, Qutbuddīn, Jāhāngīr Qulī Khān and Islām Khān became, in quick succession, Governors of Bengal. In 1602 the Portuguese of Chittagong—being harassed by the Arakanese (Mughls)—had established a fort on the island of Sandīp but were soon turned out by Rājā Mān Singh. They recovered Sandīp, however, in 1609, under Gonzalez, and by their acts of piracy greatly oppressed the people of the Gangetic delta. Owing to the threatening attitude of both the Arakanese and the Portuguese, who had now combined together, as well as trouble from a remnant of the Afghāns in Eastern Bengal under 'Usmān, Islām Khān removed the capital from Rājmaḥal to Dacca—possibly in 1612. Gonzalez, with the help of the Rājā of Arakan, attacked Bengal in 1610, but Islām Khān defeated them. The Afghāns were also finally defeated in 1612, and 'Usmān was killed. Islām Khān again attacked the Mughls successfully in 1613, but died shortly afterwards.

QĀSIM KHĀN (1613-18), AND IBRĀHĪM KHĀN (1618-22).

After the death of Islām Khān, his brother Qāsim Khān became the Governor of Bengal. In his time the Mughls looted the south-eastern portion of Bengal. Qāsim Khān proving incompetent was superseded in the governorship by Ibrāhīm Khān, brother of the celebrated Nūr Jahān Begam. In the time of Ibrāhīm, trade was in a flourishing condition. In the court of Agra, the silk fabrics of Māldah and the fine muslins of Dacca had already acquired great reputation on account of their good quality, and the English opened a factory at Patna. Ibrāhīm Khān was killed at Rājmaḥal, fighting against Shah Jāhān, who had rebelled against his father, the Emperor Jahāngīr.

¹ According to M. Chakravarti (*op. cit.* p. 232), the large *Jum'a* Mosque (now in ruins) and the six-piered bridge of Hudaī are ascribed to the time of Mān Singh.

MUHAMMAD SHUJA' (1639-59, with a two years' interregnum 1649-51).

After Ibrahim Khān, seven Governors successively occupied the throne of Bengal, till Shahzāda Sultan Muhammad Shujā', son of Shah Jahān, became Subādār of Bengal in 1639 A.D. He transferred the capital from Dacca to Rajmahal. In his time, the British merchants were in a prosperous condition. One Dr. Broughton, having cured a daughter of Shah Jahān, secured for the English the license of trading freely in Bengal. The Doctor also cured a female of the inner apartment of Shujā' who granted him permission to build factories at Hugly and Baleswar. Shujā' was defeated by his brother, Aurangzib, at Allahābād in 1659 and fled to Tānda. Mir Jumla, the famous general of Aurangzib, drove Shujā' from Bengal, whereupon he took shelter with the Rājā of Arakan. But the cruel Arakan Rājā imprisoned Shujā' and finally threw him into the river. The wife of Shujā' and his two daughters committed suicide; a third daughter was forcibly married to the Arakan Rājā but did not long survive her disgrace.

MIR JUMLA (1659-63).

Mir Jumla, who then became Subādār of Bengal, re-transferred the seat of Government to Dacca. In 1661 he conquered Kuch Bihar, and in the next year annexed Assam. He died in 1663 A.D. at Khizrpur, now a part of the modern town of Narāyanganj on the Lakhya River, 10 miles from Dacca.

SHAYISTA KHAN (1663).

After the death of Mir Jumla, Shayista Khān, the nephew of Nur Jahān, became Subādār of Bengal for many years. In his time rice, it is said, sold at the rate of eight maunds per rupee. Shayista Khān resided in the Lal Bagh Fort at Dacca where the curiously constructed tomb of his favourite daughter Peri Bibi is still to be seen (*vide* Cunningham, Report, pp. 130-1 and Pl. XXXIV).

IBRAHIM KHAN II (1689), AND MURSHID QULI KHAN (1704-25).

Ibrahim Khān II succeeded Shayista Khān as Governor of Bengal in 1689 A.D. but was quickly succeeded by six other Governors, until, in 1704, Murshid Quli Khān assumed the reins of government. He removed the capital from Dacca to Murshidābād, and beautified the city (which he had named after himself) with many fine buildings.

SHUJĀ'UDDĪN (1725).

In 1725 A.D. Shujā'uddīn Muhammad Khān became Governor and assumed almost absolute power. After Shujā'uddīn, Sarfarāz Khān (1733), 'Alivārdī Khān (1740) and Sirājuddaula (1756) became Nawwābs of Bengal in succession. Finally by the battle of Plassey, fought in the year 1757, the suzerainty of Bengal was transferred to the English.

Former Economic Condition.

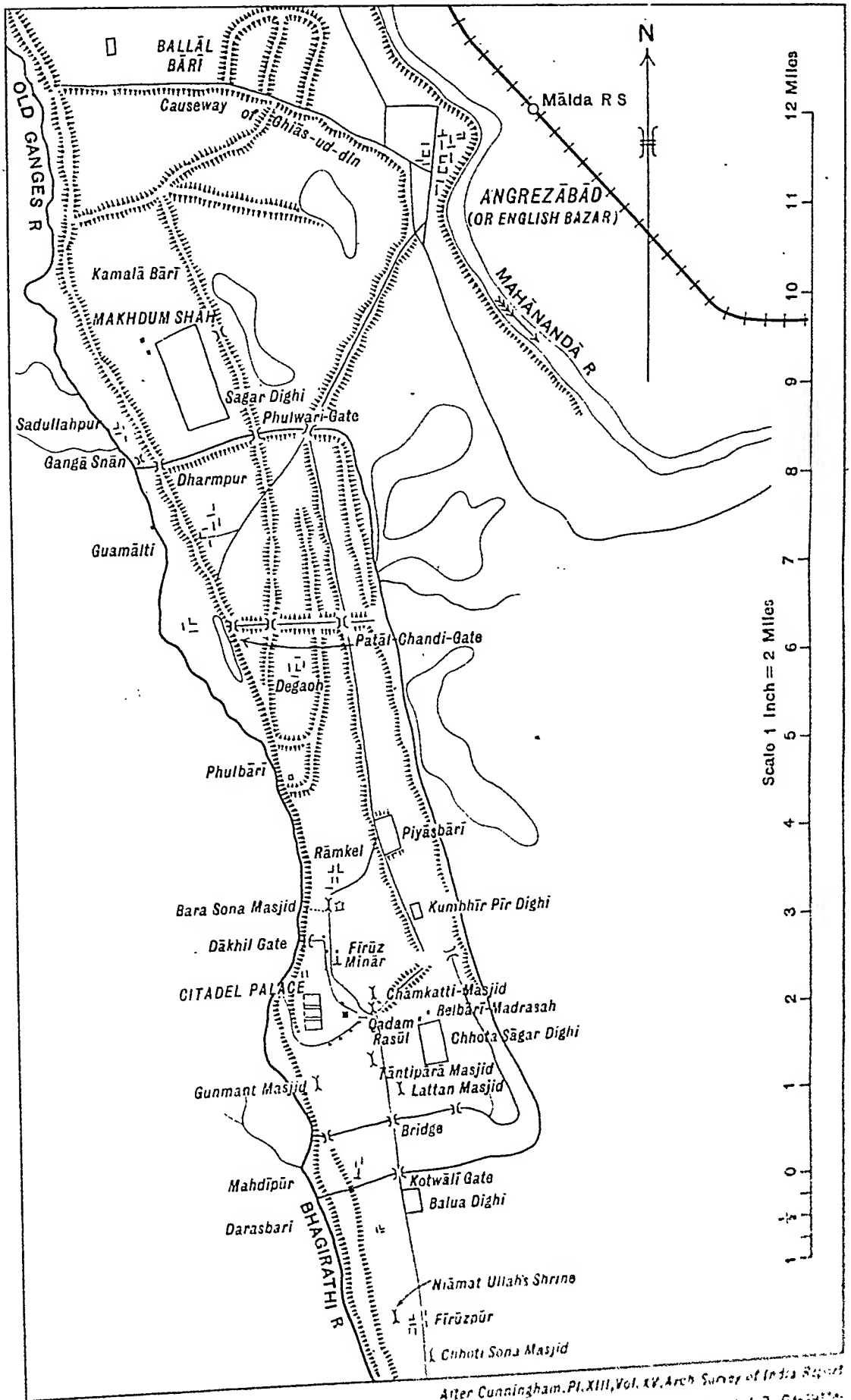
Concerning the general prosperity of Bengal in former times, the great traveller Ibn Batūta, who visited Bengal in 1345, relates how he heard from one Muhammad Al-Masmūdī Maghrabī, a merchant of Delhi, that when the merchant with his wife and servants resided in Bengal, eight *dirhams*—the equivalent to one rupee—were sufficient for his outlay on paddy for the entire year, as 50 *ratls* (one *ratl* equals 14 seers) of rice could be had for a *dirham*; while eight fowls or 15 pigeons sold for a *dirham*, and the price of a sheep was only two *dirhams*. Ibn Batūta saw 30 cubits of finely woven cotton cloth sold for two *dīnārs*. One gold *dīnār* was equivalent to 10 silver *dīnārs* and a silver *dīnār* to eight *dirhams* or *hashthanis*. A table of prices current at the time when Ibn Batūta visited Bengal, in terms of current money and weight, is quoted below from Bhattasālī's "Early Independent Sultans of Bengal."

A milch-cow, Rs. 3; a fat fowl, 3 pies; two pigeons, 3 pies; a fat ram, 4 annas; sugar, Re. 1-7 per maund; honey, Rs. 2-14 per maund; rice, 1 anna 9 pies per maund; ghee, Re. 1-7 per maund; *tīl*-oil, 11½ annas per maund; fine cotton cloth, Rs. 2 per 15 yards. Ibn Batūta himself purchased a beautiful slave girl for one gold *dīnār*.

In 1575, says Sir George Wood, a rich merchant of Old Māldah sent three shiploads of valuable silk cloth to Russia through the Persian Gulf, which shows that the silk industry of Māldah is of long standing.

As has already been noted, in the time of Shāyista Khān (1664 A.D.) rice is said to have sold at the rate of eight maunds per rupee.

The local people of the present English Bāzār state that there were 22 bāzārs in Gaur, of which Mahājantūlī, Lāl Bāzār, Habāsh Khāna and Chāndnī Chowk were the most important.



CHAPTER III.

The extant remains of the two Cities

Section I—Gaur.

Gaur, the ruined and ancient capital of Bengal, in the district of Maldah, is situated on a deserted channel of the Ganges (Latitude $24^{\circ} 53' N.$, Longitude $88^{\circ} 14' E.$). The kingdom of Gaur long continued to be very powerful and prosperous, so that, except for Delhi, it had in India no rival in wealth and affluence. The city was extensive and populous, being inhabited by wealthy people, families of high birth, and persons noted for learning. A large standing army was also maintained there.

Notes on the site of the old City of Gaur.

The site of Gaur lies on a narrow strip of land near the former junction of the old Ganges and the Mahānanda rivers, and was probably selected as a capital for the convenience of water communication with all parts of the country after the downfall of the former, and equally large, capital of Pandua. There are few Hindu remains of any kind to indicate the land marks of the ancient city; but it is said that the high land at Pichhili near Gangārāmpur on the south bank of the Kāliṇdrī river, where a large area is still covered with brick fragments and jungle, was the last residence of Rājā Lakhan Sen and his family. Further, the names of Ballālabari, Rāmabhitā, Chandipur, Patalchandi, Lohāgarh, Amrity and Kamalabari may be taken as evidences of Hindu occupation. A further point to be noticed is that at Kamalabari, which is situated a mile to the north-west of the *Sagar Dighi*,—the great tank which appears to have been the site of one of the earliest Hindu settlements—the Patron Goddess of Gaur, Gaureswari Devi, was still worshipped in Cunningham's time, and a fair held in her honour in the month of June. All these facts suggest that the Hindu Kings, prior to the invasion of the Musalmāns, had seats of Government at several places on the south bank of the Ganges which probably then flowed through the Kāliṇdrī. When the river Ganges shifted its course, the southern and western banks of the old bed were converted into a city by erecting substantial *bānds* all round. There is no doubt that the Hindu Kings made the first attempt at constructing these *bānds* to protect the town, but the Musalmān rulers afterwards improved them and made them much stronger. The wall of stone near the Patalchandi gate seems to be the work of the Muḥammadan period and to have been constructed for the purpose of defence. The wall of stone near the Patalchandi gate seems to be the work of the Muḥammadan period and to have been constructed for the purpose of defence. The wall of stone near the Patalchandi gate seems to be the work of the Muḥammadan period and to have been constructed for the purpose of defence.

Willford considered that the Ganges formerly flowed on the east side of Gaur and all antiquarians and Magistrates of the District have acknowledged the truth of this statement. [For discussion of past changes in the course of the Ganges, see Introduction.]

protection of the town from the action of the river. The remains of a gateway at the northern end of the town at Duārbāshinī also appear to have been the work of a Muhammadan ruler. The causeway of Ghiyāsuddīn—the present Rājmaḥal Road—is another example of protective work which was necessary owing to the river shifting to the west side of Gaur. The large tanks Sāgar Dighī (large and small), Piyāsbārī Dighī, etc., were originally deep depressions of the river which, when it dried up, seemed like lakes or large tanks. The Muhammadans who first settled in the country were not very numerous, but their number grew rapidly owing to immigration from other Muslim countries and the conversion of a large number of Hindus to Islām. It may be assumed that a fairly large number of the converts embraced Islām of their own accord, while others were compelled to accept the new faith. The Muhammadans thus established their power over the Hindus. They did not change the Hindu names of the above places but kept them as they were before, and generally showed much favour to their Hindu subjects.

Commercial port of Gaur.

When the river Ganges flowed near Gaur large boats carrying goods from distant places used to come to the city from which there was also an export trade. The high land north of the great Sāgar Dighī is supposed to have been the commercial town. It was protected on the east by an embankment connecting the Duārbāshinī Gate with the Phulwārī Gate. The places where cargo used to be landed are still to be seen as oblong-shaped plots of high land with canals cut all round each plot. An old bridge midway to Pīrān-i-pīr (near the north-east corner of the Sāgar Dighī) indicates also the passage by which goods were carried to the interior of the old city by small boats along a canal. Embankments, communicating with the new course of the Ganges, run southwards for 20-25 miles from the present site of English Bāzār. This shows that carts were employed as an alternative source of transport when the Ganges moved southwards.

Area and Population.

The ancient city was at least $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length from north to south¹, and about two miles in breadth from east to west, giving a total area of 25 square miles; but the entire area was probably not all inhabited at one time. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in 1808 described the area of the city as being 20 square miles. The population of the city at the time of its greatest prosperity is said by Faria Y Souza (writing before 1640) to have been twelve lakhs ($1\frac{1}{4}$ million). The site was deserted after the outburst of plague in 1575, and until about 50 years ago was overgrown with dense

¹ The Portuguese, sent by Alfonso de Mello in 1534 from Chittagong to Gaur with presents to Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd Shah, described the city as well fortified and three leagues in length. De Mello and his men took part in the subsequent fighting between Mahmūd Shah and Sher Khān which ended in the death of the former and in Sher Khān becoming King of Bengal and ultimately Emperor of India.—H. E. S.

jungle inhabited by tigers and other wild animals ; but cultivation is now rapidly spreading, and clusters of dwelling houses and new villages are springing up here and there amid the ruins of the ancient city.

De Barros' account of the City of Gaur (prior to 1540).

"The streets are broad and straight and the main streets have trees planted in rows along the walls to give shade to the passengers. The population is so great and the streets so thronged with the concourse and traffic of people, specially of such as come to present themselves at the King's court, that they cannot force their way past one another. A great part of this city consists of stately and well-wrought buildings." (De Barros 'Da Asia' : Lisbon edition of 1778, Vol. VIII, p. 458—translation.)

The Fortifications of Gaur.

The city of Gaur was completely surrounded by a high earthen rampart, the top of the wall or embankment being covered with buildings¹. There were innumerable buildings within the town, which commanded a magnificent view of the Ganges on which it stood. On the eastern side there was a double embankment flanked by a deep moat about 150 feet in breadth. The principal street ran from north to south. The western part of the town was open, the Ganges being counted sufficient to prevent any inroad of the enemy from that side. There were openings in the north and south embankments for the egress and ingress of the citizens.

The ruins of Gaur were first explored by Mr. Creighton between 1786 and 1807, and afterwards by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in 1808, and by Major W. Francklin in 1810-11. Both the latter antiquarians have left elaborate descriptions of the ruins as they then existed.

Buried treasures.

Such a vast city with its numerous buildings and palaces must have had no inconsiderable part of its enormous wealth buried under ground or secreted in cells and subterranean chambers, especially as the modern system of banking was unknown in bygone days. Manrique, for example, who visited the ruins of Gaur in 1641, tells a story of the recent discovery in a hollow wall of 3 copper vessels, filled with gold coins and precious stones valued at three crores of rupees which had been handed over to Shah Shuja, the then Governor of Bengal². The *Siyar-ul-Muta'ikhkhira* is responsible for the following :—

"In the tomb and vault, opened about the year 1766 A.D., by Captain Adams at Gour, he found such another vessel [*odd-dar—treasure*]

¹The buildings on the embankment have now disappeared and the wall is overgrown with dense jungle and trees.

²Travels of Sebastian Manrique, 1629-43 (Hakluyt Society publication, 1927, Vol. II. pp. 128-132).

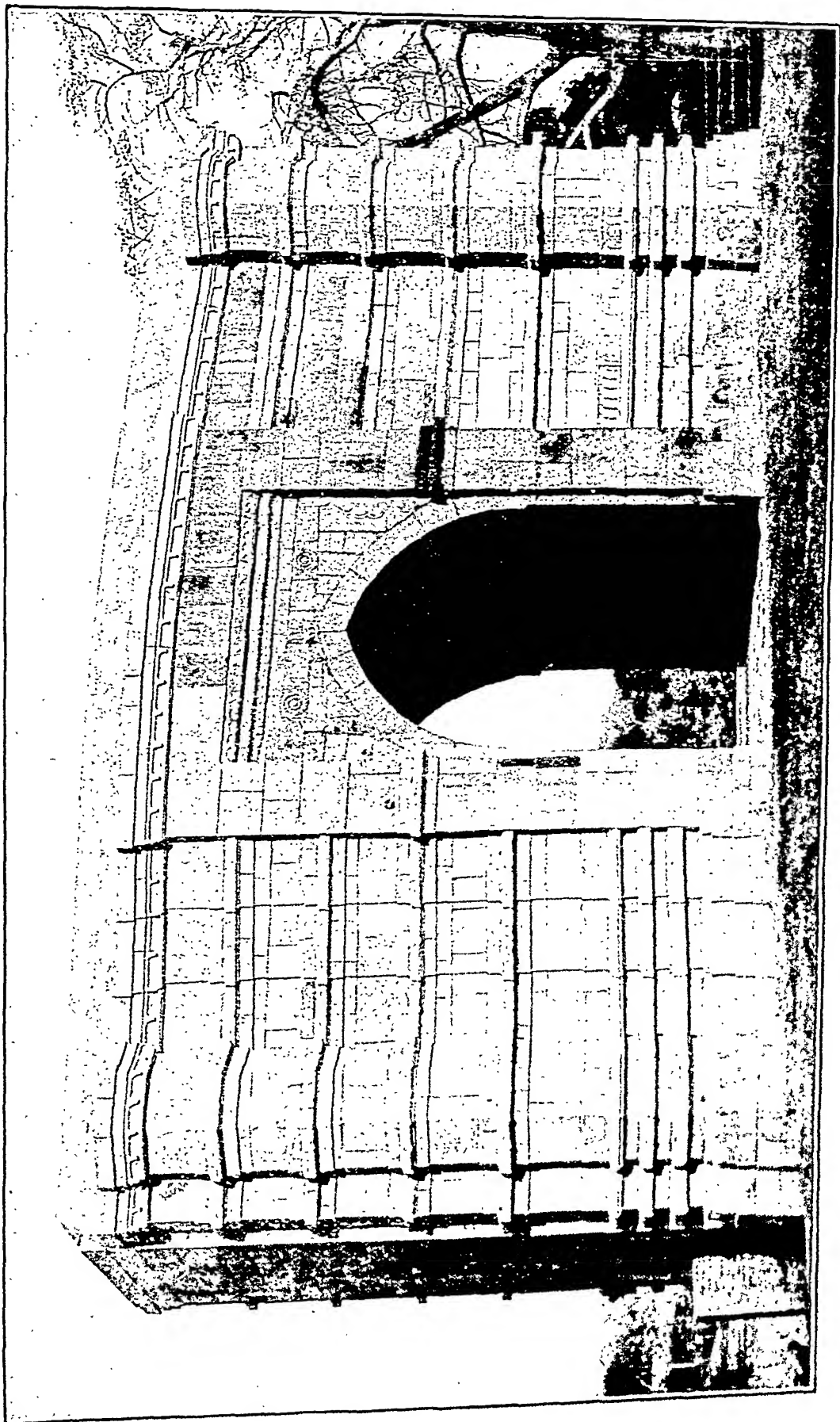


Fig. 6.—Courtyard Gateway of the Great Golden Mosque, Gaur.

buried] at the foot of a Royal body, perfectly well preserved for four hundred years, with two vessels for *bellé* or *pann*, and some arms and lamps, etc." (Vol. III, footnote 271, p. 386—Cambray's reprint.)

Other relics of the past.

Excavations have been made in different parts of the ruined city by village cultivators in search of treasure, which have revealed traces of spacious halls, pavements, staircases, subterranean passages and a good many other relics, all testifying to the greatness of the once-renowned city.

Causes of destruction to the ancient buildings at Gaur and Pandua.

When Sher Shah invaded Bengal in 1539 A.D., Gaur was sacked, and after this the wealthy capital began to decay and its buildings were neglected. The climate of Bengal is also singularly inimical to the preservation of architectural remains : if the roots of a peepal or a tamarind tree once find a resting place in any crevice of a building, its destruction is inevitable. Moreover, in the rainy season, boats could easily reach the ruins ; and boatloads of stones and bricks were removed to the then rising towns of English Bazar, Murshidabad, Rājmahal, Hooghly and (later) Calcutta'. In this way most of the old residential buildings of the cities of Gaur and Pandua were destroyed by men and by the climate of the country. We are fortunate to find remains of certain mosques and the tombs of saints which the plunderers did not touch on account of their being sacred.

THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS AT GAUR.

The following is an account of the ancient monuments as well as places of interest at Gaur of which traces still exist—arranged as far as possible in the order in which they may best be visited :—

1. THE *Barādwarī*, OR GREAT *Sona* (GOLDEN) MOSQUE, AT RĀMKERĪ.

[Erected by Sultan Nasrat Shah in 932 A.H. (1526 A.D.).]

This mosque is a massive rectangular building of brick, faced with stone, 168 feet by 76 feet, with turrets at the corners. It is the largest of all the ancient monuments in Gaur. Immediately in front, to the east, is a courtyard 200 feet square, with arched gateways—each 38½ feet by 13½ feet—in

¹According to Grant (Vth Report, p. 285), the *Nizamat Daftar* of Murshidabad received Rs. 8,000 annually from the local zamindars as fees for the privilege of demolishing the ruins and stripping from them their highly prized enamelled bricks and basalt stones (*Sang-i-Musad*). Early in the nineteenth century many carved stones, found in the ruined city of Gaur, are said to have become the prey of the Calcutta undertakers and artists for monumental purposes. Since 1899 the practice of demolishing the ruins for the purpose of Gaur has been stopped by Government.

the middle of the three sides. The eastern Entrance Gate has been carefully restored and a reproduction of it, in its present state, is given as Fig. 6. Inside the mosque are three long aisles divided by massive stone pillars with a corridor running along the whole length of the building. In front are eleven arched openings, each measuring five feet eleven inches in breadth. There are other openings at the north and south ends. The building was roofed by forty-four small hemispherical domes ; of these eleven domes of the corridor

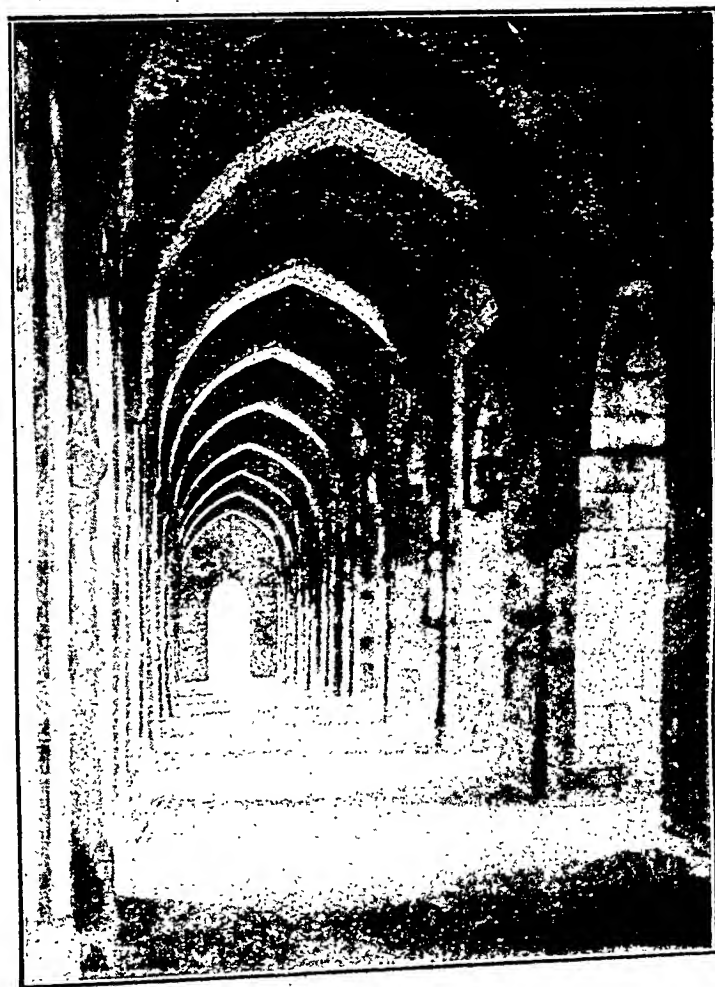


Fig. 7.—Aisle of the Great Golden Mosque.

still exist and were repaired under the direction of Lord Curzon. There are few carvings left. As is clear from the following inscription, it was built by Sultān Nasrat Shah in 932 A.H. (1526 A.D.). In Francklin's time the inscription appears to have been in its proper place, but it has now disappeared. The *Tughra* letters were about nine inches in length. As Cunningham notes, the vacant panel over the middle doorway from which the stone slab containing the inscription has been removed measures five feet two inches in length by two feet one inch in breadth.

"The following is a translation of the inscription recorded by Franklin:— "The Prophet (on whom be the blessing of Allah and peace) has said: 'He who builds a mosque, for him Almighty Allah will provide a house in Paradise.' This *Imam* Mosque was erected by the great and illustrious Sultan, son of the Sultan, Nasr-ud-din Muhammad bin Abul Muzaffar Nasrat Shah Sultan, son of Husain Shah Sultan, son of Saiyid Ashraf al-Husaini—May Allah perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and elevate his power and dignity!—in the year 932" (A.D. 1526).

Origin of the name "Sona Masjid."

Cunningham mentions that Franklin was much puzzled over the popular name of *Sona Masjid* and started a strange theory that as it bears no marks whatever of gold, its name must have originated from the bulkiness of the materials used and the expense of its erection. Local people, however, do not call bulky things golden, but name them after the real or supposed amount of the cost, as in the case of the Ekilakhi Mausoleum of Pandua, the Naulakhi Palace at Lahore, etc. The fact is that the domes were actually gilded, and so much of the surface was ornamented in this way that under the rays of the sun or moon it looked like a mosque built entirely of gold: hence the name *Sona Masjid*. It is true that no gilding is now visible, but there is a universal tradition amongst the people to this effect, and we know that the *Chhoti Sona Masjid* at Firuzpur (*vide infra*, p. 79) must have received its name for the same reason, as Creighton remarks that "the remains of gilding upon it is still visible, and may account for the epithet of *Golden* given to this and the former edifice." Some gilding in fact still remained on the Small Golden Mosque as late as 1879 when Gen. Cunningham made his tour.

Explanation of the name "Baradwari."

"The common name of the building is "Baradwari," or, literally, a building of twelve doors; but as there are only eleven openings in front, considerable controversy has taken place as to its proper name. It seems to the writer that the name "Baradwari," which ordinarily means an "audience hall," was given to the mosque on account of its spacious court-yard in front of the mosque.

Ladies' Gallery.

A raised platform for ladies was provided at the north corner of the mosque. Here the ladies used to come to the mosque through the small doors in the upper room on the north side. The remains of a sloped platform connecting the doors with the ground level are still to be seen there. Ladies' galleries are found in many mosques in Central India, Hindustan and elsewhere: but in the Mughal period the ladies' galleries were generally in the ground floor, and not raised on pillars or arches.

"For remarks by the late Dr. Blyth on the introduction of women into the mosque see later (p. 138).

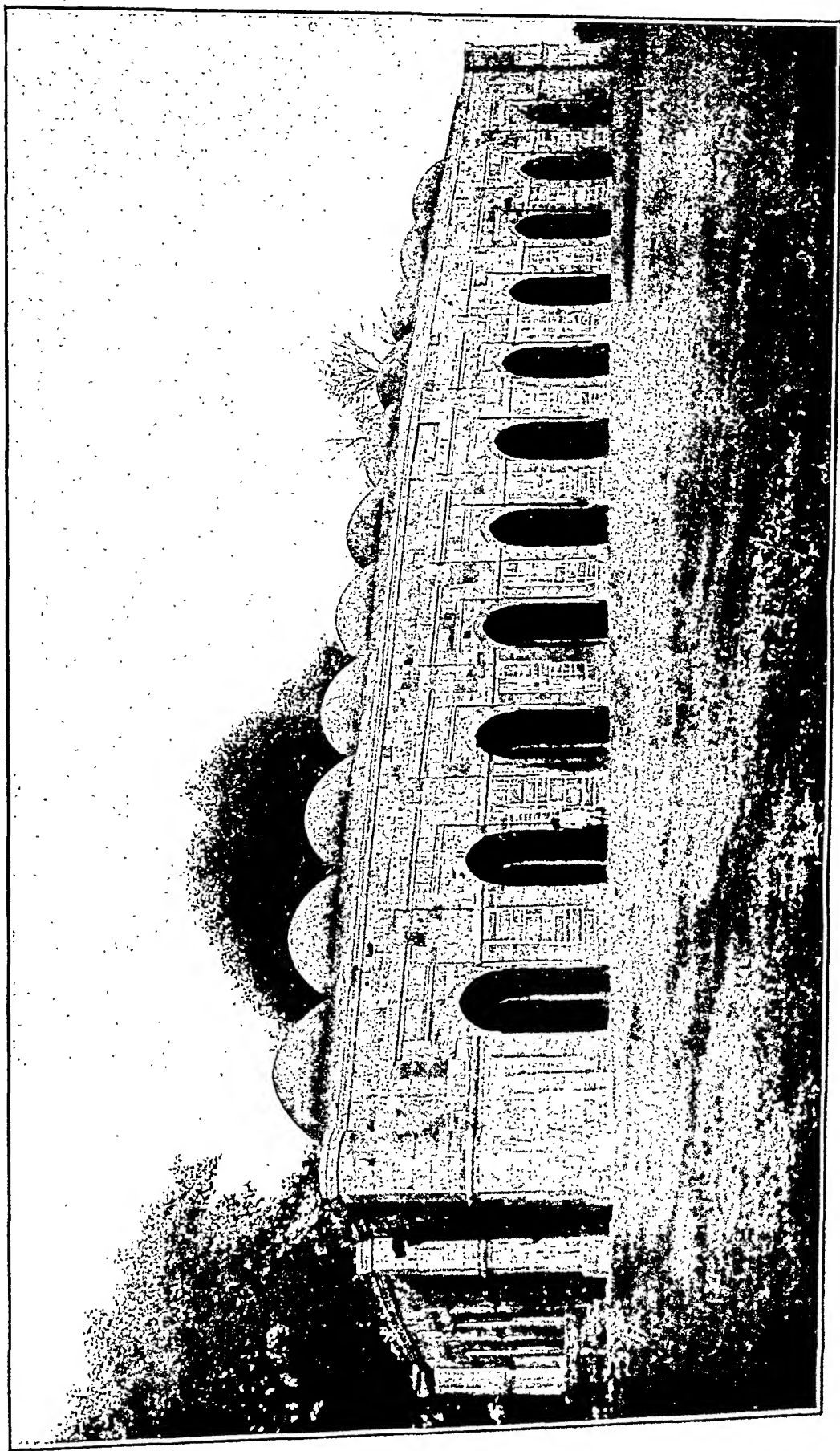


Fig. 8.—Exterior of the Great Golden Mosque, Gaur.

Old stone columns.

The positions of the stone columns supporting the arches of the domes have all now been traced out and the tops of their bases plastered. The pulpit is also marked out. In the prayer niches of the west wall there were fine ornamental carvings; and, though the facing is gone, yet certain portions which still remain show the best workmanship of the period.

The "Chabutra."

On the south-east side (vide left of Fig. 8) there exists a raised platform locally called "*Chabutra*" by the local people. It is believed that the *Chabutra* was used by the *Muazzin* for calling the faithful to Prayer, but this does not seem very probable as the Call to Prayer is generally made from a high tower.

Archæological notes.

Traces of other buildings are to be seen on raised ground on the north and north-west sides. They are perhaps sites of *madrassahs* (schools) and rest-houses. If excavations were made, the foundations of buildings would probably be laid bare. There is a fine tank (600 feet by 300 feet) a short distance to the east of the eastern gate.

Major Franklin makes the following remarks on this mosque:—

"The arches are pointed and may be defined to be Gothic, or more appropriately, the Saracenic style of architecture, introduced by the earlier conquerors of Hindoostan. They are of a similar nature with many of the mosques to be seen at old Delhi, erected by Patan Sovereigns of the dynasties of Lodie and of Ghore. The whole appearance of this building is strikingly grand and exhibits the superior taste and munificence of the prince who erected it."

In connection with the use of brick as the principal material for the buildings at Gaur and Pandua, as well as the curved rise so often observable in the roof line of these mosques, Jergussan remarks as follows:—

"Bengal is practically without stone, or any suitable material for forming either pillars or beams. Having nothing but brick, it was almost of necessity that they employed arches everywhere, and in every building that had any pretensions to permanency."

The curvilinear form of roofs: "The Bengalis, taking advantage of the elasticity of the bamboo, universally employ in their dwellings a curvilinear form of roof, which has become so familiar to their eyes that they consider it beautiful.

"This curvilinear form found its way in the seventeenth century to Delhi and in the eighteenth to Lahore, and all the intermediate buildings, from, say, A.D. 1650, betray its presence to a greater or less extent. . . . While to the European eye this form always remains unpleasant, to the native eye—Hindu or Muhammadan—it is the most elegant of modern inventions."

2. THE CITADEL OF GAUR.

[General Cunningham's Description.]

"The Citadel of Lakhnauti is situated on the bank of the old Ganges. It is very nearly one mile in length from north to south by half a mile in width at its broadest part opposite the eastern gate, but not more than a quarter of a mile wide at its northern and southern ends. It is entirely surrounded by a great earthen rampart upwards of 30 feet in height and about 150 feet thick at the base with round towers at all the angles and a deep ditch on the outside about 200 feet wide when full. The rampart is everywhere covered with large trees, and the ditch is filled with weeds and crocodiles. The age of the Citadel is unknown; but as there is nothing remaining in it of an early date, it seems probable that it was the work of Mahmūd I [Nāsiruddīn 1442-59] and his successors." (Cunningham's Report, Vol. XV, p. 50.)

A.—*The Dākhil Darwāzah, or Main Gate of the Fort.*

This is a large gateway about half a mile south-west from the Bārādwārī. It is called the *Dākhil Darwāzah* as it was the principal "Entrance Gate" to the Fort from the north. Another name is *Salāmī Darwāzah*, because salutes

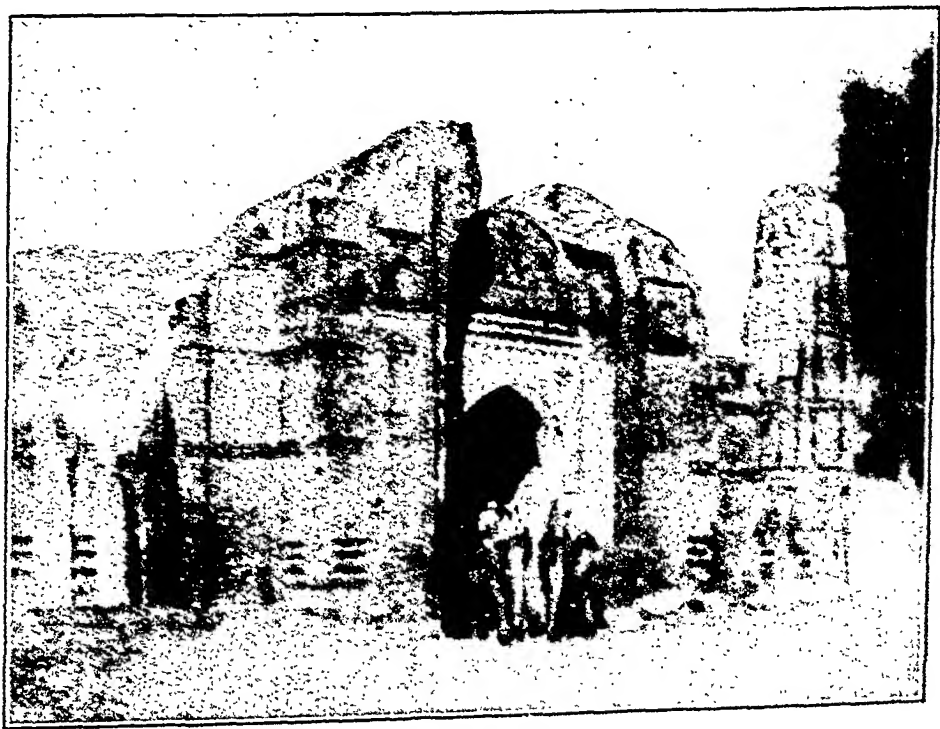


Fig. 9.—*The Dākhil Darwāzah, or Main Gate of the Fort.*

were fired from the adjacent ramparts. The date of its erection is not known for certain, but, as has just been observed, it was probably built in the first half of the 15th century. Later monarchs, e.g., Rukmuddīn Bārbak (1439-73), Husain Shah and even Nasrat Shah may have improved it. Near it, on the

“ Creighton's view, taken from the outside, makes the sides of the towers much too sloping, as may be seen by comparing it with Ravenshaw's inside view. The building consists of a central passage 14 feet wide and 113½ feet long, with a guard room on each side 74½ feet long by 9½ feet broad. The walls, which are 9¾ feet thick, are pierced by three doorways on each side of

the passage, with one outer doorway on the inner side of the rampart. Pieces of stone with large holes in them, fixed to the walls of the gateways, show how gigantic were the gates which were suspended from these stones. The wings of the gate were bolted by a huge iron bar or wooden pin as is seen from the long holes running into the wall, one on each side of the passage. The piers between the doorways are made of brick faced with stone up to the spring of the arches, but all the rest of the building is made of brick. At each of the four corners there is a twelve-sided tower, five storeys in height, crowned by a dome. The faces of the tower are panelled and ornamented with the usual chains and bells in relief. Creighton makes the height of the towers 53 feet, but this measurement did not include the domes which were all ruined before his time. The walls on both sides of the archway were ornamented in a similar manner with panels filled with chains and bells. The outer arch was 34 feet in height, above which the battlemented wall rose 15 feet, making a total height of 49 feet." (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 51.) The front width of the entire gate building is 73 feet 4 inches. The existing building was first constructed with ornamental facing work all round, but the base of the building on the east and west was later covered with earth and connected with the adjoining rampart walls. Traces of *pacca* steps for reaching the top of the embankment from inside are also found : and the rampart itself is strengthened by a skeleton of brickwork.

An inscription, found a few years prior to 1911 near the *Jamii Darwazah*, records the erection of a gate by Nasrat Shah, but this may have been only the court-yard gate of some mosque or tomb. The text and the translation of the above inscription are given below:—

[illegible]

Translation.—"In the year 926 A.H. [23rd December 1519 to 11th December 1520 A.D.] the Sultan of the time and period, celebrated for justice and

benevolence, the Sultān, son of the Sultān, Nāsirudduniyā waddīn, Abūl Muzaḥḥar Nasrat Shāh the Sultān, son of Husain Shāh the Sultān, al-Husainī —May Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and rule !—built this gate."

B.—Chānd Darwāzah and Nīm Darwāzah. (No longer existing.)

"From the northern gate," viz., the *Dākhil Darwāzah*, "a raised road led to the palace in the southern half of the citadel, passing through two intermediate gates called the *Chānd Darwāzah* and *Nīm Darwāzah*. As the last named stood exactly half-way between the entrance gate and the palace wall, it is most probable that its name was derived from its position as the 'Half-way Gate.'...A view of the *Chānd Gate* is given by Creighton in his Plate III. Its whole style is similar to that of the *Dākhil Gate* with which it also agrees in the height of its arches and battlements." Creighton assigned to it the date A.H. 871 (A.D. 1466) from inscriptions found close by—but, as may be seen from the Palace inscription, quoted later, on pp. 56-8—this is the date of erection of the *Nīm Darwāzah*.

3. THE FĪRŪZ, OR FĪROZAH, MINĀR.

[The Tower of Fīrūz Shah, or the "Turquoise Tower."]

This Minār is about a mile to the south of the *Bārāduwārī* Mosque and outside the fort. The tower has no inscription to record the date of its erection; but Francklin found a fragment of an inscribed stone at Gūmāltī bearing the name of a King Saifuddīn which, he seems to have believed, was originally attached to this tower. In this he was supported by Cunningham, owing to the fact that the size of the lettering as given by Francklin agrees with the height of the panel above the door of the Minār: but Cunningham identified the builder of the tower with Saifuddīn Hamzah Shah (1412 A.D.) instead of with Saifuddīn Fīrūz Shah (1486 A.D.). Fergusson, on architectural grounds, also preferred an earlier date than the end of the 15th century. In the neighbourhood, the tower is known by the name of "Pir Asā Mandir" and "Cherāgdānī," the former name being thought by Cunningham to be a corruption of Fīrozah, and that the name simply indicates that it was originally faced by blue tiles. Some say it was built for the purpose of calling the *Azān* for prayers, while others consider it was a watch-tower. To the writer it appears to be a Pillar of Victory, like the Qutb Minār of Delhi and similar towers at Koil, Daulatābād and elsewhere.

Description.

There is a staircase of 73 steps leading up to the top chamber. Judging by old photographs, one would suppose that the top chamber of the tower is about 84 feet high and 62 feet in circumference. There is a broken dome. Franklin, while visiting Gaur in 1795, saw a broken dome. Daniel's illustration of this tower (drawn in 1795, as well as Creighton's very beautiful coloured drawing, also indicate

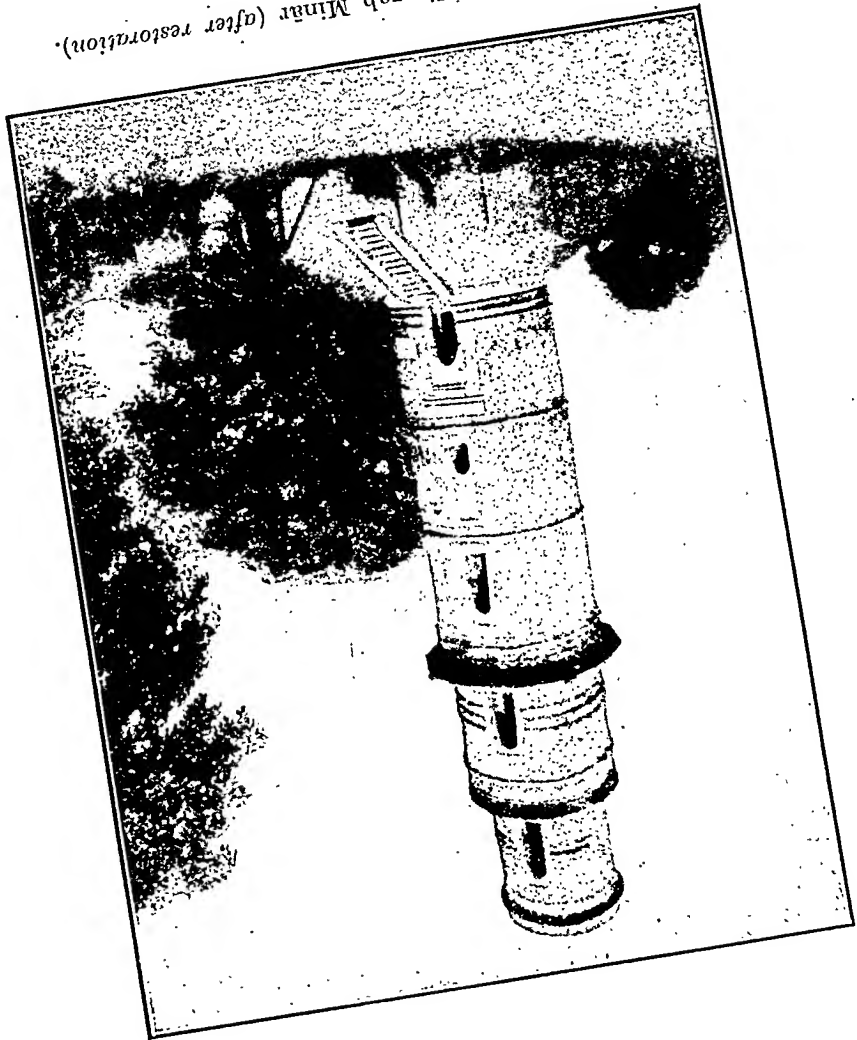


Fig. 10.—The Firozah Minar (after restoration).

When, however, the repairs were carried out a few years ago the existence of the dome appeared to the Archaeological authorities too doubtful to warrant restoration, and the top was finished off with a flat roof.

The tower is a polygon of twelve sides for three-fifths of its height and circular for the remaining two-fifths. It is supposed that the basement of the tower was originally faced with polished stones in the form of steps all round; but considering that the rough stonework at the base was originally below the ground and that the tower was built on a hillock, the Archæological Department suggested strengthening the base with earth-work and turfing it over, so that it might look like a mound, and this suggestion was carried out in 1911.¹

Old Visitors to the Tower.

The following interesting note by Mr. Samuells, a former Collector, is quoted from the District Gazetteer of Māldah: "Hedges, the Governor of the Company, in 1683 visited English Bāzār and Gaur and records the visit in his diary. He came up the Mahānandā from Lālgolā and anchored for the night at Baliaghāṭṭa at Rohanpūr. He visited Gaur with two English ladies. Fanny Parkes also visited Gaur. She was shown over by Mr. Chambers and she saw written in the Minār the names of Harwood 1771, S. Grey 1772, Creighton and others. She also found the initials M. V. 1683, and Mr. Beveridge supposes this was one of the ladies of Hedges' party. Mr. Creighton visited the tower several times and engraved his name with a knife with dates 1786, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791." Mr. Reuben Burrow visited this tower in 1787 and determined its situation to be in $24^{\circ} 53'$ North Latitude and $5\frac{1}{2} 52' 13''$ ($c. 88^{\circ}$) East Longitude. The latitude was deduced from 29 meridian altitudes, and the longitude partly from distances and partly from watches.

Local Tradition.

Tradition has it that when the tower was completed, the King went to see it. The mason in charge of the work boastingly declared that he could have built a much higher tower than that.

The King: "Why then did you not do so?"

The Mason: "I could not find sufficient materials."

The King: "Why did you not ask for them?"

As the mason made no reply, the King in a paroxysm of rage ordered him to be thrown down from the top of the tower which was immediately done; and thus the mason lost his life. On descending from the tower the Sultān ordered his favourite peon Hinga to go instantly to Morgāon. The peon dared not ask the King the object of his errand to Morgāon—so furious was

¹The wire-netted door recently provided for the main entrance of the tower is incongruous with the ancient structure. It seems that a door of sāl wood fixed in the old fashion existed there. The sliding-door fixed near the top room is not only historically objectionable but is also dangerous to visitors.

the royal face. On reaching Morgāon he was deeply meditating as to why he had been sent there, and while moving here and there in an agitated mood he met with a Brahmin youth named Santān. This had he accosted, saying the Sultan had sent him there, but with what object he did not know, as the Sultan had not informed him nor had he had the hardihood to ask the Sultan. Santān heard from Hingā everything that had transpired before Hingā's departure from the royal presence and forthwith came to the conclusion that, under the circumstances which led to the sending of Hingā to Morgāon, possibly the Sultan had in mind the engaging of skilled masons who abounded in those quarters. Following this hint, Hingā took masons from Morgāon and presented himself to the King, who, by this time, was cool-headed enough to wonder how Hingā could know his purpose, seeing that nothing had been told him. On being asked by the Sultan to explain matters, Hingā disclosed the clue given him by Santān, whereupon the Sultan praised Santān and made him an officer of the Court at Gaur. With the help of the masons brought by Hingā the Sultan improved the tower still further.¹

4. THE *Bat'isguzi* WALL AND THE OLD PALACE OF THE KINGS OF GAUR.

In the interior of the Fort are still to be found remains of the Palace enclosure—a lofty brick wall, called *Bat'isguzi*, apparently because its height was 22 Bengālī *guz* (yards), or 42 feet. It is 15 feet broad at the base decreasing to nearly 9 feet at the top. The entire enclosure measured 700 yards in length from north to south and 250-300 yards in breadth. Photographs of the wall, taken in the sixties of the last century by Mr. J. H. Ravenshaw, may be seen as Plates 10 and 11 of his volume on *Gaur*. The wall was then covered with dense jungle and big trees, but now these have all been removed by the Public Works Department. It would be a good thing if the base of the decayed portions of the walls were exposed so as to give an idea of the whole structure.

Royal Palace.

The Palace wall extended all round the royal residence. From the following inscription, found at Gūāmālī by Francklin, which records the making of a water-course under the palace (as well as a Half-way Gate) by Ruknuddīn

¹ Morgāon is a village about a mile north-east of the Maladah Railway Station. The name Santān, and the appointment of this Brahmin to a post at Court, suggests the possibility that he was the man who afterwards became Husain Shah's Minister (*vide* p. 34). If so, the Sultan must have been Saifuddīn Firuz. Moreover Saifuddīn Hamzah reigned for only 1 year whereas Firuz reigned for 3 years. The name Firuz Minar also points to Saifuddīn Firuz having been the builder of the Tower.—H. E. S.

Bārbak Shah in 871 A.H. (1466 A.D.), Cunningham inferred that the Palace and *Dākhil* Gate had already been completed in the time of Bārbak Shah's father, Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd Shah.

الحمد لله ذي الآلاء و المنن * رب تنزه عن نوم و عن زس

ثم الصلوة على المختار من مشر * خير الانام الذبي السيد المدين^(١)

معه خاتم الرسل الكرام و من * لولاه سبل الجدى و الحق لم تبين

و آله معدن التقوى و محبته^(٢) * التابى الله فى سر و فى علم

و بعد من تى على جوار رحمة * ازرى بجود اسحاب الهطل الهتن

اساطان ايمان الدنيا و ركن الدين * ساطاننا بايك شاه العالى الفطن^(٣)

ابن السيد الذى شاع فى الامصار * سلطان معبود شاه العادل الحسن

دل ساطان العراقين فى كرم * كباريك شاه فى شام و فى اليمن^(٤)

ولا فدا فى بلاد الله و طاله * فى البذل و الجود هذا واحد انزمن

و دارد كلچنان رائق نزه * و مجلب للغنى رقى من الشجن^(٥)

نهر جوى تحتهما كلسليل * سجاها فاز بانقراء ذى المهن^(٦)

و بابها راحة للروح و راحة * لذى محبته واحد كلشطن^(٧)

باب على الشط مشرچ باسه * ميانده در و شى دخول خاص لبن^(٨)

[illegible]

“Peace be on the chosen one of (the tribe of) Midar, the most excellent of created beings, the Prophet, the Lord of Medinah, viz., Muhammad, the last of the eminent Prophets, but for whom, the paths of Guidance and Truth would not have been manifested !

“ Next (let us refer to) him who reposeth on the mercy of the Most High, whose benevolence is such that even the cloud that gives profuse and incessant rain seems of no account; the Sultān, the Protector of the Universe, the Pillar of Religion,² Eminent of Rank, our Sultān, Barbak Shāh, son of the most famous and world renowned Saiyid, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, the Model

¹⁷This inscription was not included by the late Khaz Sahib, and the text is based on Grote's attempted amendment of the incorrect text quoted by Francklin (*vide* pp. 18 and 19 of Ravenshaw's *Gaur*).

²An obvious reference to Barbak Shah's *lagab*, or title, Ruknudduniyā waddin.

of Justice, can the Princes of the two 'Irāqs, of Syria, and of Yemen, be considered equal to Bārbak Shāh? Truly there is no one in the Countries of Allāh who equals him in generosity and liberality. He is without an equal, (a Prince) whose marvellous and spotless habitation—to which wealth is attracted and through which sorrow is dissipated—resembles Paradise.

“ (Behold) a Water-course, flowing under the palace, resembling *Salsabil*¹ whose stream affords consolation to sorrowful *faqīrs*. For those who love it, it binds (them) like a cord. Its gate is comfort and sweet basil for the soul.

“ A Gateway which is on the stream bears his name. It is the Middle Gateway, leading to the luxurious interior (of the royal palace: and was erected) in the year 871. That was the beginning of its construction, the time of comfort for these days.

“ I pray to Allāh for the continuance of his sovereignty as long as birds sing on the branches of any garden.

[Persian]. “In the reign of the Shah, Asylum of the World, Ruknudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Sultān Bārbak Shāh—May Allāh perpetuate his power and dominion!—the Middle Gate was erected in the year 871.” (A.H.=1466 A.D.).

The Palace was divided into three parts—the first part, to the north, being probably used for holding *Darbār*, the second for the private quarters of the King, and the third for the *Harem*. Each division had a tank in it: one of these being paved with stone. From the fact that the *Darbār* Court is smaller than the other two enclosures, it is evident that very few people had access to it. There were two more walls running east to west to divide off the other compartments of the Palace. A reproduction of the plan of both the Fort and Palace made by Creighton in 1801 can be seen in Plate 8 of Ravenshaw's *Gaur*.

5. THE *Khazānchī-Khāna*, OR HOUSE OF THE TREASURER.

In connection with the proposed identification of the northern part of the Palace enclosure as the *Darbār* Court, it must be noted, however, that the people of Gaur also call this plot the *Khazānchī* (apparently a corruption of *Khazānchī-Khāna* or House of the Treasurer). In the middle of the plot is a large tank measuring 315 feet by 235 feet, locally known as *Tak-e-ḍighī* (Tank of the Mint). West of this tank there remains a small ruined one-domed building, 40 feet square. The local historian Munshī Hāhī Bakhsh in his *Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā* preferred to regard this plot as the *Mahal-Sarāi* or King's *Harem*: and the house as a Bath for the females of the *Harem*.

¹A fountain in Paradise.

6. THE TOMB OF HUSAIN SHAH.

[No longer existing ; it was destroyed in about 1846. Date of erection 1519.]

Situation of the Tomb.

About a furlong to the north-east of the *Khazanchi-Khāna*, and outside the palace enclosure, is a place known as Banglā-Kot. This was the graveyard of the later Kings of Gaur. South-east of it is a large tamarind tree and about 12 feet from it on the south there were two masonry graves which have disappeared. Old people of Mahdipur and the *Khadim* of the *Qadam* *Rasul* informed Munshi Iāhi Bakhsh that these were the graves of Husain Shah and his wife, but in Creighton's time the second tomb was said to be once covered the grave of Husain Shah was found by Munshi Iāhi Bakhsh near the village of Khari (? Khirki). It is said that robbers, in search of the concealed treasures, injured the stone by fire. Close to the site of the tomb was a square enclosure, the walls of which were of variously coloured bricks.

Description.

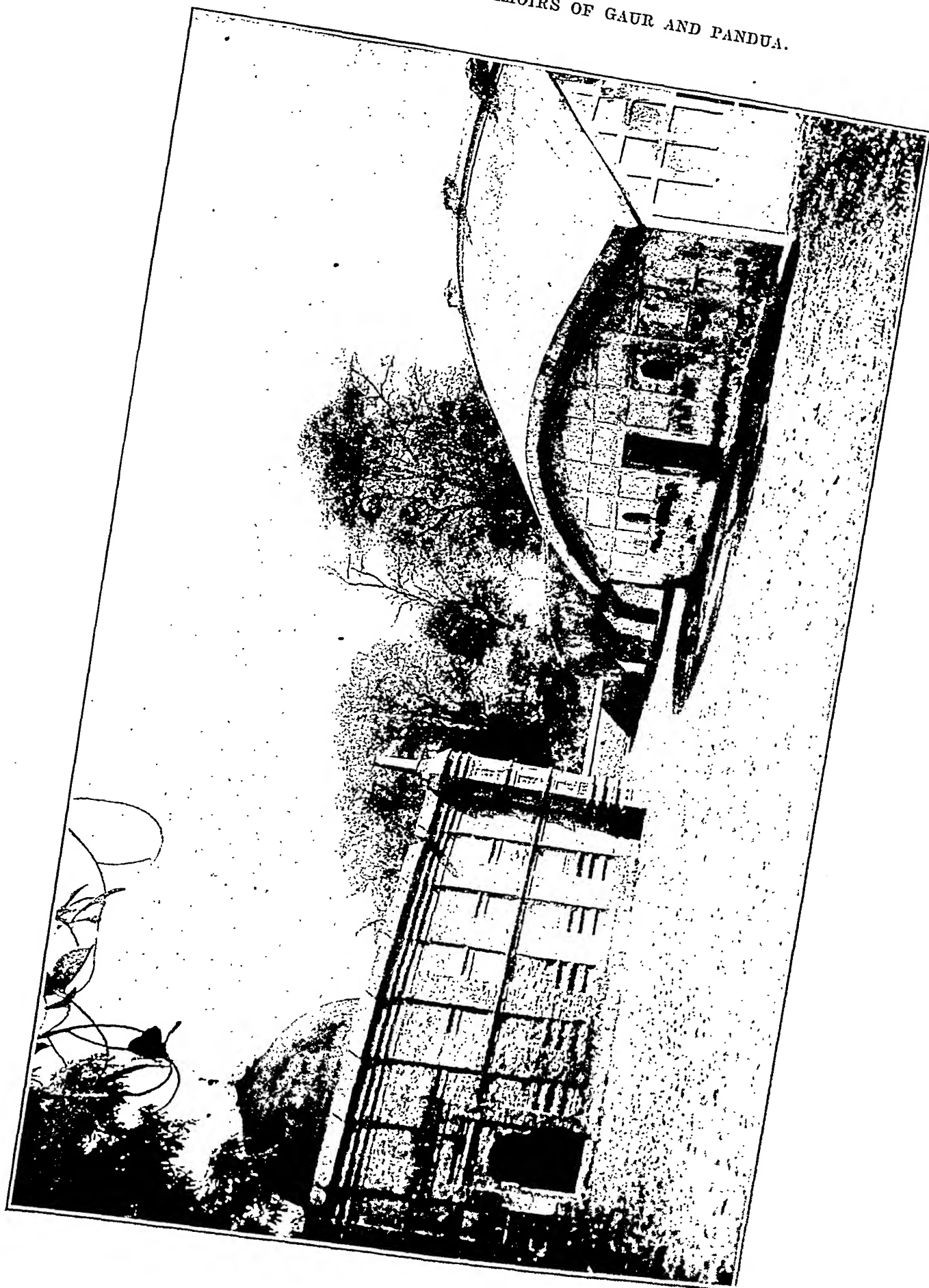
Creighton made a very beautiful sketch of the gateway of this tomb, the immediate enclosure of which was 24 feet square. By about 1846 these tombs and the enclosure had all been destroyed. Francklin in 1810 described the tomb as follows :—

" You enter by a handsome arched gateway built of stone, the sides and front of this doorway are incusted with a peculiar kind of composition, blue and white China tiling, which has a singular appearance ; at the four corners are large roses cut in the stone... The minarets which flank the building are ornamented with curious carved work of trees, flowers, etc. Within the doorway is a large enclosure containing the bodies of Shah Sultān Hosein and other branches of the royal family. The sides of the enclosure are incusted with the same kind of blue and white composition."

A mosque is said to have been located a little to the north of this tomb and near it were formerly over 100 graves of Kings and their relations. Husain Shah died in 925 A.H. (1519 A.D.).

Endowed property for the lighting of the Tombs of the Kings of Gaur.

The graveyard as well as the bamboo clumps, trees, etc., attached to it, were for long in the possession of the ancestors of Mir Doman, an inhabitant of Mahdipur, who claimed to be a descendant of Husain Shah. Mir Hānsa,



the grandson of Doman, in 1863 had in his possession a document purporting to be signed by Nawab Mirazam Khan (Mir Jumla) and dated 1070 A.H. (1659 A.D.), whereby 50 bighas of rent-free land in the village of Bangla-Kot were given to Saiyid Ambia by order of Aurangzib for the purpose of maintaining lights on the tombs of the Kings of Gaur. Mir Hansa later sold this property to one Samir of Mahdipur, but only the adjoining tank is now in the possession of Samir's descendants.

Historical notes.

Crichton records a statement by Mr. Ormer, the historian, who apparently visited Gaur about 1766 (*ibid. supra*, p. 43), that some of the stones belonging to these graves were removed by a Captain Adams for use in Fort William and that he saw them lying by the waterside ready for despatch. These were five pieces of black stone, highly polished, each measuring 12 feet in length and 2 feet in breadth and thickness, which formed part of the steps.

7. *The Gopuram, West of Foot-print of the Progenitor.*

[Date of construction of the building 987 A.H. (1581 A.D.):

Builder's name, Sultan Nasrat Shah.]

This relic is contained in a rounded square building, situated within the enclosure of the Fort, to the east of the Palace. The total dimensions are 63 feet 3 inches by 19 feet 10 inches, the main chamber being 25 feet by 15 feet and the walls 3 feet thick. There are verandahs on three sides, 9 feet wide. The front of the image is incorrectly given with a straight forehead in Crichton's Plate No. XI, whereas it is highly curved in the original fashion, as may be seen in Brownshaw's photograph. Plate No. XII. In front there are three arched openings supported on massive stone pillars. The walls are of brick, very highly ornamented, the whole being divided into panels by bands of moulding. This is covered by a single stone pillar or minaret, whose diameter is only 1 foot 6 inches, equal to one face of the tower. (Crichton's *op. cit.*, p. 33 and 34.) The building is after the style of Muhammadan style. It was erected by Sultan Nasrat Shah, the son of Sultan Husain Shah, in 987 A.H. 1581 A.D., as is shown by the following Turkish inscription in three lines over the doorway:—

سید سلطان حسن شاه بن سلطان حسن شاه
بن سلطان حسن شاه بن سلطان حسن شاه
بن سلطان حسن شاه بن سلطان حسن شاه

During the reign of Nawwāb Sirājuddaula the foot-print of the Prophet was carried off to Murshidābād, but was restored to its place by Mir Ja'far. It is now in the custody of two brothers, Zinnat Mulla and Farāz Mulla, of Mahdīpūr. They keep it in their house for safety, and when any visitor comes, they put it in its proper place inside the building. The reason is said to be that the foot-print was once stolen but was subsequently recovered by the police.

It is said that the foot-print of the Prophet was first brought by a Saint called Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht from Arabia. He brought also the *Jhanda* (heraldic device mounted on a staff) which is still preserved in the shrine of Hazrat Shah Jalāl at Pandua.

Archæological notes.

The ornamental stone capitals which are on the top of the corner turrets of the *Qadam Rasūl* building are of very good design. Such work is not to be seen in any other building at Gaur or Pandua.

Rest-house.

In front of the *Qadam Rasūl* there lies a roofless building which is supposed to have been a rest-house for visitors. The architecture is of the Mughal period and the building may have been constructed by Shah Shujā'. The walls of the building are very thick, and it was once covered with a flat roof. There are three rooms in the building, the middle one being a big hall, while the side rooms are small in size, with one arched opening in each on the west side.

Burial ground.

On the western side of the *Qadam Rasūl*, there are the remains of a building the roof and some of the walls of which have fallen down. Inside this, there are tombs in a ruined state. It is probable that these are the tombs of princes and high officials of Husain Shah and Nasrat Shah. Even the raised platform in the *Qadam Rasūl* building on which is placed the foot-print of the Prophet is believed by many to be the tomb of Nasrat Shah himself, who died in 1532 A.D., though, more probably, he was buried near his father at Bangli-Kot (*vide supra*, No. 6, p. 59). There are several other tombs inside the compound of the main building.

the old materials of some Hindu temple were used in the construction. As General Cunningham has pointed out, the building is very similar to the Eklākhī Tomb at Pandua (*vide infra*, pp. 126-7). "Both are square with towers at the corners and curved battlements. Each is covered by a single dome : each has four doors." The dimensions of the two buildings may be compared by means of the following figures :—

		Inside dimensions.		Walls.	Outside dimensions.		
		Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
Eklākhī Tomb	..	48	6	13	0	74	6
Chikā Mosque	..	42	0	14	9½	71	6

From all these points of similarity in size and style, General Cunningham was inclined to regard this as the tomb of Mahmūd I—the immediate successor of (Jadu) Jalāluddīn's son, Ahmad Shah,—and his successors : but it is hardly possible that all trace of their graves could have disappeared. The tradition of the local people that Husain Shah used the building for state prisoners and imprisoned his Minister Sanātan here also makes General Cunningham's theory improbable.

There are glazed tiles of various colours in the cornice all round and on the corner pillars. The floor of the building was much damaged by digging for the bat-guano accumulated on the floor which was used as a manure for the mulberry plantations in the vicinity. The practice has now been stopped and the floor levelled. The broken portions of the east wall have been restored and the dome has been made watertight.

Remains of an Office building.

Attached to this building, there was another very large building on the west. The roof of the building has fallen down, but the stone pillars supporting the arches and domes have now been set up again in their place. Examination of the site suggests that other buildings existed on the west side, and it is said by the local people that Government offices were located there.

9. THE GUMTI GATE.

A little east of the *Chikā Masjid* and to the south of the *Lalā Chari Ghat* (*vide next section*) there exists a small one-domed building, which is supposed

to have served as one of the east gates of the Fort. The rampart walls still exist abutting the north and south sides of the building. The inner room is 25 feet square and the walls are 8 feet 8 inches thick. There are four arched openings, each measuring 5 feet wide. The outer dimensions of the building are 42 feet 8 inches by 42 feet 8 inches, with four ornamental corner pillars. The inscription of the building has disappeared, but it may have been the work of Husain Shah who is recorded to have built a gate of the Fort in 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.). The inscription on the gate—now to be found at the shrine of Shah Nimatullah at Firuzpur (*vide infra*, p. 83), and published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1873, p. 295) by H. Blochmann is reproduced here, together with a translation.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
إِنِّي بَدَأْتُ الْبُيُوتَ الْكِبْرَىٰ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إِنِّي بَدَأْتُ الْبُيُوتَ الْكِبْرَىٰ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
إِنِّي بَدَأْتُ الْبُيُوتَ الْكِبْرَىٰ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
إِنِّي بَدَأْتُ الْبُيُوتَ الْكِبْرَىٰ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Translation.—"This gate of the Fort was built during the reign of the Exalted and Liberal Sultan 'Alauddunyā waddin Abul Muzaffar Husain Shah, the Sultan, son of Saiyid Ashraf al-Husaini—May Allah perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—in the year 918" (A.D. 1512).

Turrets.

The ornamentation of the corner pillars is very similar to that on the *Lallan* Masjid (*vide* later, No. 13), i.e., with various kinds of coloured-enameled bricks. The lower portions were formerly buried under debris which have now been removed. In front of the gate there was a pavement of stone. On both sides of the doors on the east and west there are fluted columns of brickwork and the building is decorated with an ornamental cornice all round. It was a small gateway to the fort, and close by are traces of what was possibly a guard room. If there is any truth in the tradition that the so-called *Chikā Masjid* was a prison, the *Gumti* may have been the gate of the jail enclosure.

¹ The *Gumti* Gate has recently—1930—been converted into a Museum, in which, among other exhibits, is preserved the inscription of Nasrat Shah, dated 926 A.H., commemorating the building of a Gate, which has already been given on p. 51.—H. E. S.

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		Inside dimensions.		Walls.	Outside dimensions.		
		Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft. In. Ft. In.	
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Chikā Mosque	..	42	0 × 42	0	14	9½	71 6 71 6

From all these points of similarity in size and style, General Cunningham was inclined to regard this as the tomb of Mahmūd I—the immediate successor of (Jadu) Jalāluddīn's son, Ahmad Shah,—and his successors: but it is hardly possible that all trace of their graves could have disappeared. The tradition of the local people that Husain Shah used the building for state prisoners and imprisoned his Minister Sanātan here also makes General Cunningham's theory improbable.

There are glazed tiles of various colours in the cornice all round and on the corner pillars. The floor of the building was much damaged by digging for the bat-guano accumulated on the floor which was used as a manure for the mulberry plantations in the vicinity. The practice has now been stopped and the floor levelled. The broken portions of the east wall have been restored and the dome has been made watertight.

Remains of an Office building.

Attached to this building, there was another very large building on the west. The roof of the building has fallen down, but the stone pillars supporting the arches and domes have now been set up again in their place. Examination of the site suggests that other buildings existed on the west side, and it is said by the local people that Government offices were located there.

9. THE GUMTI GATE.

A little east of the *Chikā Masjid* and to the south of the *Lukā Churi* (see next section) there exists a small one-domed building, which is supposed

to have served as one of the east gates of the Fort. The rampart walls still exist abutting the north and south sides of the building. The inner room is 25 feet square and the walls are 8 feet 8 inches thick. There are four arched openings, each measuring 5 feet wide. The outer dimensions of the building are 42 feet 8 inches by 42 feet 8 inches, with four ornamental corner pillars. The inscription of the building has disappeared, but it may have been the work of Husain Shah who is recorded to have built a gate of the Fort in 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.). The inscription on the gate—now to be found at the shrine of Shah Xirmatullah at Piruzpur (*vide infra*, p. 83), and published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1873, p. 295) by H. Blochmann is reproduced here, together with a translation.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Translation.—"This gate of the Fort was built during the reign of the Exalted and Liberal Sultan 'Alaeddunya waddin Abul Muzaffar Husain Shah, the Sultan, son of Sayid Ashraf al-Husaini—May Allah perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—in the year 918" (A.D. 1512).

Turrets.

The ornamentation of the corner pillars is very similar to that on the *Lalun Masjid* (*vide* later, No. 13), i.e., with various kinds of coloured-enameled bricks. The lower portions were formerly buried under debris which have now been removed. In front of the gate there was a pavement of stone. On both sides of the doors on the east and west there are fluted columns of brickwork and the building is decorated with an ornamental cornice all round. It was a small gateway to the fort; and close by are traces of what was possibly a guard room. If there is any truth in the tradition that the so-called *Chika Masjid* was a prison, the *Gumti* may have been the gate of the jail enclosure¹.

¹ The *Gumti* Gate has recently—1930—been converted into a Museum, in which, among other exhibits, is preserved the inscription of Nasrat Shah, dated 926 A.H., commemorating the building of a Gate, which has already been given on p. 51.—H. E. S.

10. THE *Lukā Churi*, OR EASTERN GATE OF THE FORT.

This is a large three-storied gate south-east of the *Qadam Rusūl*, and is supposed to have been the Royal entrance to the Fort. On each side of this gate there are guard rooms, and above them was a *Naqqar Khāna* (place for beating drums), the roof of which is an entire flat arch made of bricks. The gate is 65 feet long and 42 feet 4 inches broad. The main entrance way is only 10 feet wide. The architecture of this gate is of the later Mughal style and differs much in the construction of its arches from other buildings.

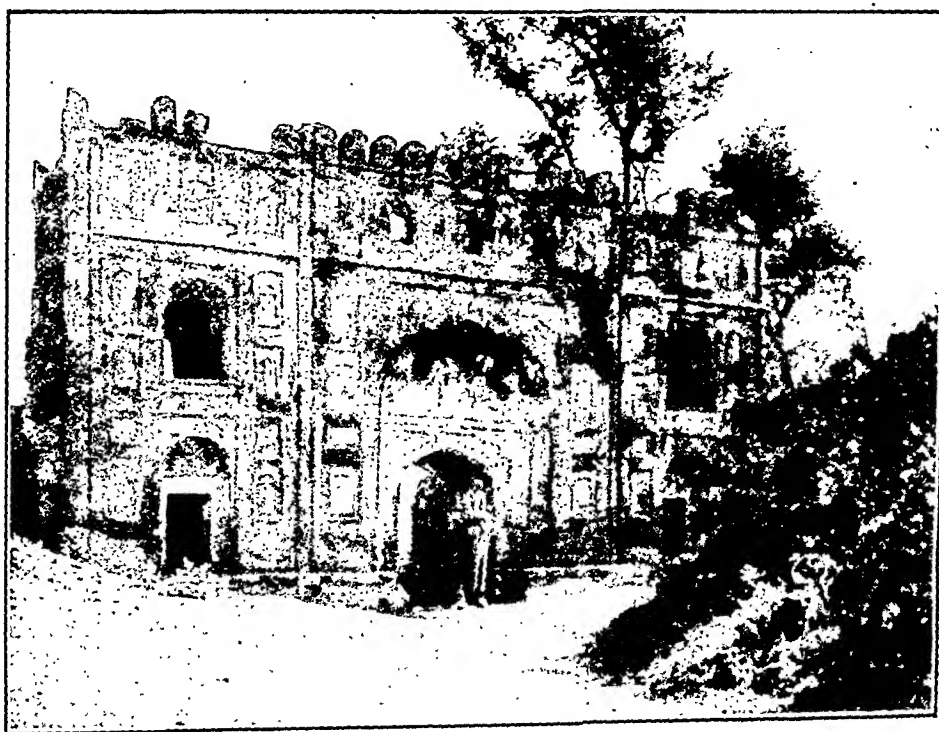


Fig. 12.—Eastern Gate of the Fort, Gaur.

The gate is said to have been built by Shah Shujā in about 1655 A.D. when long after the desertion of the city of Gaur, he endeavoured to revive it. General Cunningham confuses this gate with the Gumti Gate.

Origin of the name Lukā Churi.

Lukā Churi (hide and seek) is a kind of game which is also called *Chhippā churi*. This name has probably been given by the local people who have lately settled at the vicinity of Gaur: but what connection it has with the

"The building consists of a single room 23 feet 8 inches square with a large verandah on the east or entrance side, 9 feet 11 inches broad and an octagonal tower at each corner. The walls are of brick. The whole building is . . . 50 feet 4 inches long by 33 feet 8 inches broad. There are three doorways in front and one at each end of the verandah and three doorways on each side of the main room except the west, where there is the usual prayer niche. . . . The lines of battlements are slightly curved in the Bengali fashion and the whole is covered with a single dome. Its inscription slab is gone, but the panel in which it was fixed was 4 feet 6 inches which measurement may hereafter perhaps lead to its identification and discovery. I think, however, it may be the identical inscription of A.H. 880 preserved by Francklin, which, he says, was copied from a mosque 'called Mahajantola adjoining the *Lullun Masjid* and of the same kind of architecture.' Now this description can apply only to the *Chamkali Masjid* which stands in the very middle of Mahajantola at about half a mile from the *Lullun Masjid*, with which it corresponds most exactly, both in ground plan, and in style of architecture." Hence in all probability this mosque was erected by Sultan Yusuf Shah, son of Barbak Shah, in 880 A.H. (1475 A.D.).

General Cunningham's Description.

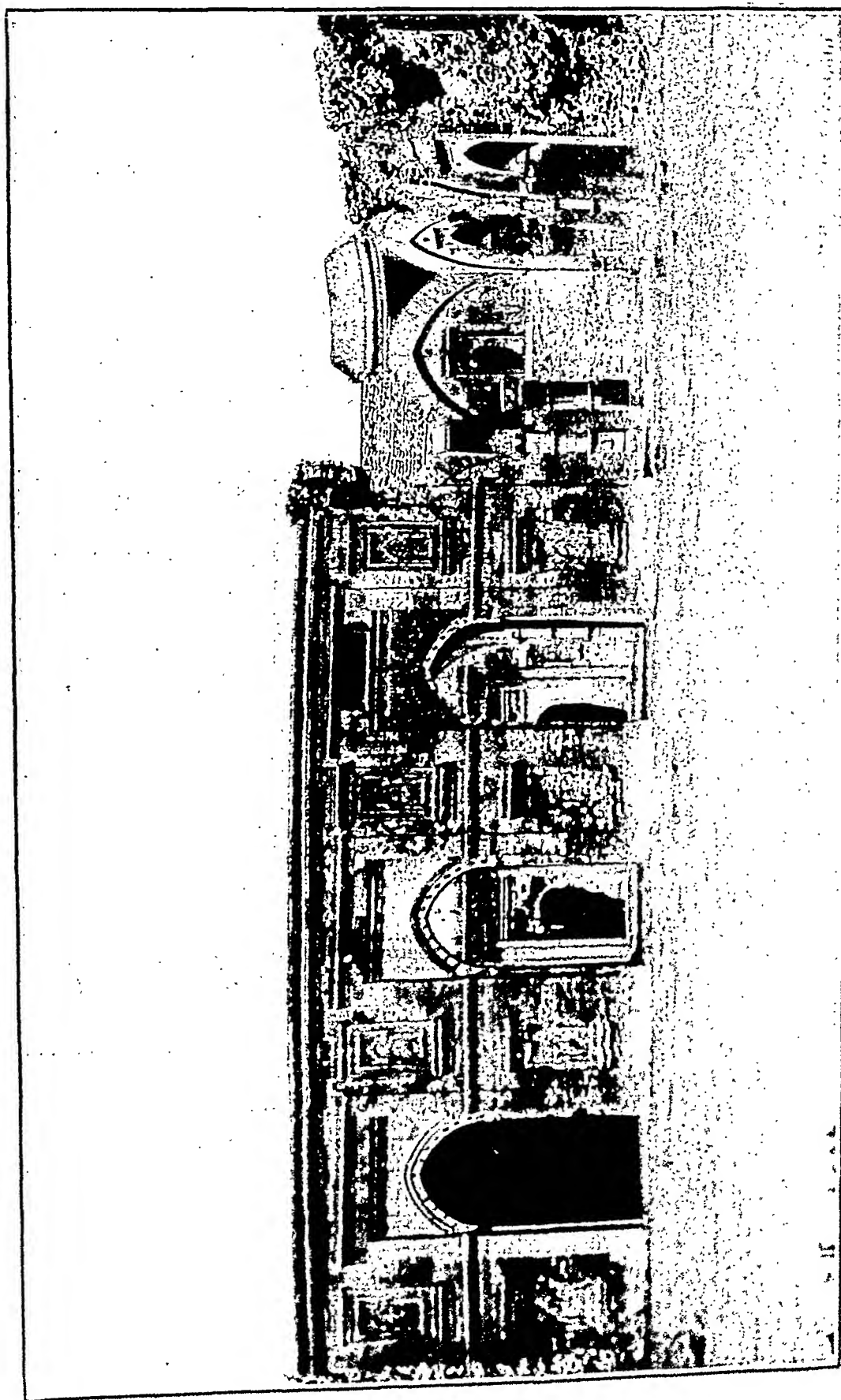
The building, though much damaged by the weather, must originally have been a very graceful and elegant structure. The roof of the verandah shows a peculiar form of vaulting, and in the main chamber several of the large channelled medallions between the arches are still preserved. The dome of the building has recently been repaired and made watertight.

This mosque lies to the east of the *Lukā Churi* Gate and on the west side of the present Nawābhānī road. There are variously coloured channelled bricks in this old building at the cornice. From its name it may have been built by a certain *Chamkali* class of Muhammadans, still residing in 'half-sapāri' near Old Malādhā. According to Creighton, these were devotees who, in religious frenzy, used to gash themselves with knives and were therefore called *Chamkali* (skin cutters).

[Probable date of construction 880 A.H. (1475 A.D.).]

11. THE 'CHAMKALI' MASJID.

The original name of the gate would have been *Shah-i-Darwāzah* (King's Gate) as the tradition is that Shah Shujā, when entering the Palace, generally used this gate, and that he built it.



12. THE TĀNTIPĀRĀ MASJID.

[Probable date of erection 1480 A. D.]

Description by General Cunningham.

"This mosque is an oblong brick building of two aisles, divided by four stone pillars down the middle. It is 78 feet by 31 feet inside, and 91 feet by

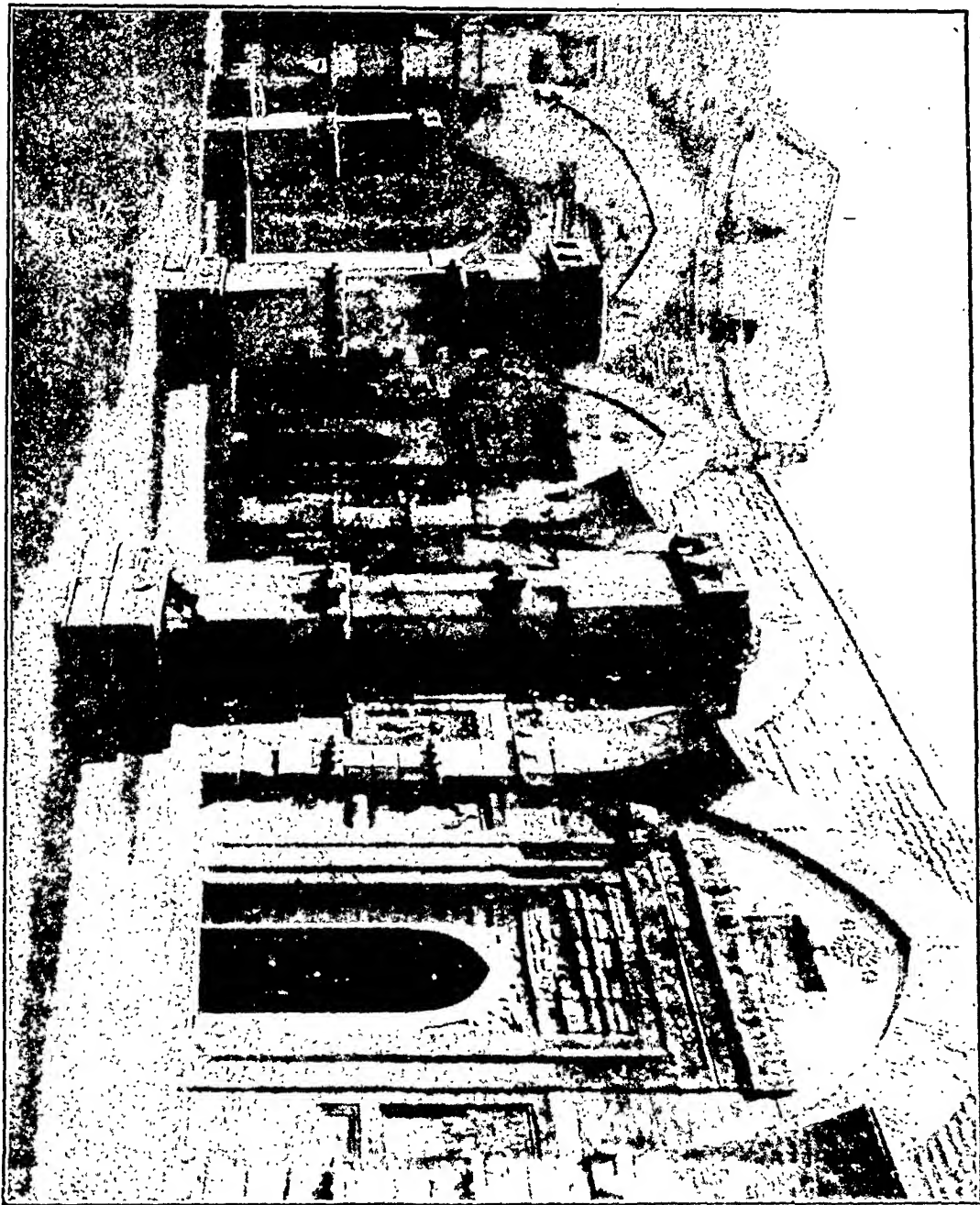


Fig. 14.—Interior of the Tāntipārā Mosque, Gaur.

44 feet outside, with an octagonal tower at each corner. The walls are 6½ feet thick, with five arched openings in front and two at each end. The outer

faces are ornamented with large panels with projecting flowered borders, each panel being decorated with a pointed arch, under which is the usual bell-shaped ornament suspended from a long chain. The towers also are ornamented in the same style. The battlement in front has the favourite Bengal curve or rise on the centre, above which rise ten hemispherical domes¹. To my taste this mosque is the finest of all the buildings now remaining in Gaur. Its ornamentation is rich and effective, and the large decorated panels stand out in high relief against the plain walls. The whole building is of a uniform rich red colour that is much more pleasing. than the gaudy glazed tiles of the *Lattan Masjid* " (Report, pp. 61-62). *Tāntipārā* means the quarter for the weaver class. The mosque, though probably built by *Mirsād Khān* (*vide supra*, pp. 62 and 63), is known locally as 'Umar Qāzī's Mosque and is also called by the people after the name of the weavers' quarter. In the northern corner of the mosque a *takht* (or raised platform—probably for the ladies) used to exist. It is likely that the face of the wall underneath the *takht* and immediately below the northernmost *mihrab* was broken, or, if there was a *mihrab* at all beneath the *takht*, it was certainly separated from the *mihrab* above. There were windows with trellis work in the north and south walls. No trace of this *jālī* work is now visible, and they remain open.

Though not strictly in accordance with archæological practice, it would be an interesting experiment if some rich and public spirited Muhammadan would offer to bear the cost of repairing the broken portion of the east wall and reproducing the ornamentation. Local masons can do the flower work on bricks with their chisels (a peculiar instrument which they have had handed down to them from ancient times). The present arrangement of putting plain brick facing is not at all pleasing.

Creighton, while sketching this mosque, also indicated the existence of a very big building on the north-east side of it. It seems to have been an out-house for travellers, or it may have been intended for a *Madrasah*. It no longer exists.

13. THE LATTAN MASJID.

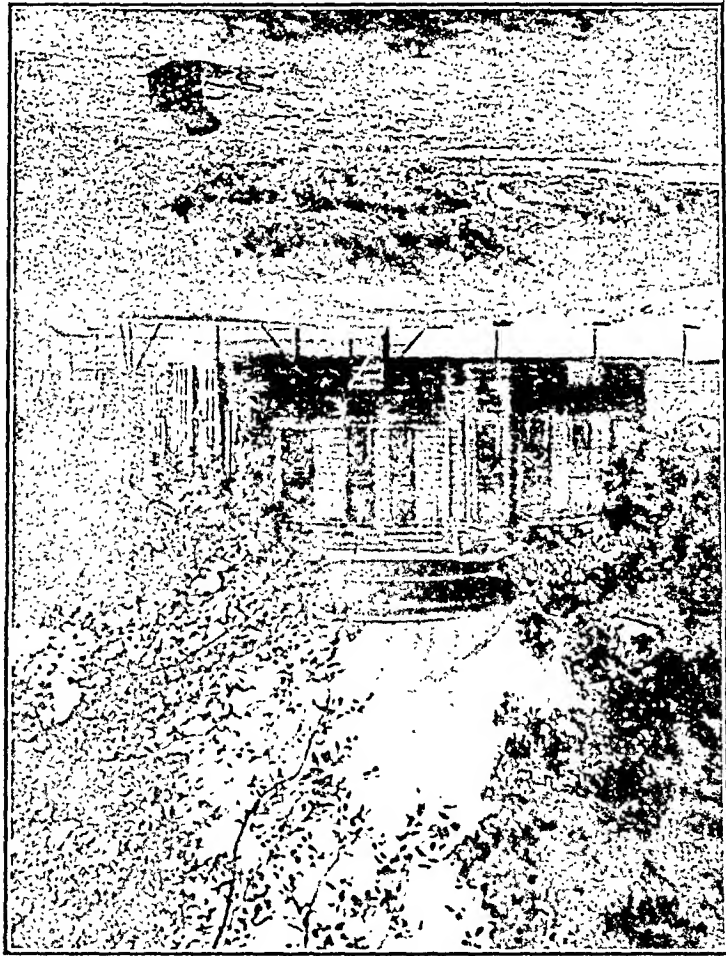
[Possibly constructed in 1475 by Sultān Yūsuf Shah.]

This fine mosque lies a few yards east of the Nawābganj Road near the 11th milestone. It was once entirely covered with enamelled brickwork, but now the greater portion of the facing is gone. The worn-out portions have been restored with old bricks. According to Creighton, an inscription found in the vicinity showed that it was built by Sultān Yūsuf Shah in 880 A.H. (1475 A.D.); but he may have been referring to the Mahājantola inscription which Cunningham has assigned to the Chāmkatti mosque. As, however, the two mosques are identical in plan, they may very well have been erected by the same King. The floor of the mosque was formerly

¹ These all fell during the earthquake of 1885 A. D.

verandah or corridor in front. The main room of the Lattan is 34 feet square and the corridor is 34 feet long by 11 feet wide. The two side walls of the mosque and the front wall of the verandah are each 8½ feet thick but the front and back walls of the main room are 10 feet 7 inches. The whole building is therefore only 72½ feet long and 51 feet broad outside. The corridor has three arched openings in front, and one at each end, the middle arch being 6 feet 11 inches span, the side arches 5 feet 5 inches, and end arches 4 feet 9½ inches. The mosque itself has three openings in the front and sides, of the same dimensions as those of the corridor front. The back wall has three

Fig. 15.—The Lattan Masjid.



“The ground plan of the Lattan Masjid is exactly the same as that of the Chāmkatti Mosque. Both are square rooms covered by a single dome, with a

General Cunningham's description.

The interior of this mosque is in good condition, and the door and windows have been closed by wire netting to prevent bats from entering. while searching for hidden treasure, but the damage has now been repaired. damaged by certain persons who caused holes to be dug in various places

niches corresponding to the doors on the other three sides. The square (of the main room) is changed into an octagonal form by arches springing from black stone pillars, 17 inches thick, which seem to be of Hindu workmanship. Above the octagon is a very flat vault, over which rises the hemispherical dome."

As already observed, "the whole surface of the masjid, both inside and outside, was once covered with glazed tiles¹ in various patterns of four colours, green, yellow, blue and white, the pattern being formed of hexagons touching at the angles, with triangular pieces, alternately white and blue, in the interstices * * * Francklin has given an enthusiastic description of the beauty of this mosque, which he thinks is not surpassed for "elegance of style, lightness of construction, or tasteful decoration, in any part of upper Hindustan." Cunningham agrees as to the pleasing appearance of the building, but states that "lightness of construction is just the point in which the Muhammadan architecture of Bengal fails.... For graceful outline, beauty of ornament, and stateliness of appearance, I greatly prefer the old Minār, the Tāntipārā Mosque, and the Dākhil Gateway" (Report, pp. 62-65).

Note on the name 'Lattan.'

There is a local tradition that the mosque was built by a dancing girl who, being a favourite of some King, acquired much wealth and built the beautiful mosque with all the money she had, as a meritorious work. She concealed her name and put the King's name in the inscription tablet. The original meaning of the word is a 'Tumbler pigeon.' It may therefore be that the dancing girl received her name *Lattan* from her acrobatic dancing.

On this subject, the late Dr. Bloch wrote as follows :—

"I may mention in passing, that the modern name of this mosque, *Latan Masjid*, generally has been explained as 'the Dancing Girl's Mosque' and that the word *Latan* has been taken as a corruption of the Bengali word for 'dancing girl,' *Nātin*,—in Sanskrit *natī*. I am quite willing to accept this explanation, but I very much doubt if it really means that the mosque was built by a dancing girl. From ancient Indian inscriptions we certainly know of several instances where 'dancing girls,' or any other women of a similar class, called *Ganikā* in Sanskrit, joined with Buddhist monks or nuns, and with respectable laymen and laywomen, in adorning a sacred *Stūpa* or temple of their religion. However, I entertain grave doubts if the Maulavis, *Imāms* and *Khādims*, even at the capital of the Muhammadan Kingdom of Bengal, ever would have deigned to accept the gift of a mosque, if it came from a dancing

¹ The art of making encaustic tiles in bright colours still survives in Smalā. The colouring of the bricks has almost disappeared and the gaps in the walls have been filled with plain chi-elled bricks. There are still remaining many worn-out portions of the bricks facing on the outside, and these require similar repairs to those effected on the inside walls. The flush pointings in cement, done to the decayed portions, look very clumsy. The tower at the corners, if repaired up to the top, would restore to some extent the former beauty. There is a tank on the east side, which was formerly included in the mosque compound.

girl, although she might have been some sort of an ancient *dame une cunilhis*, who, with the approach of old age, might have repented, and expressed a desire to atone for her former life, by some kind of meritorious work like the building of a mosque. Even if we accept such a theory, I am afraid we are laying too much stress on a name which we owe merely to the modern tradition current among the ignorant peasants, who now live at the site of the ancient capital of Bengal. Another explanation of the word *Lalan Masjid* has occurred to me, to which I feel very much inclined to give the preference. I accept the current interpretation of the word *Lalan* as a corruption of the Bengali word *Xalin* (Sanskrit *nālī*), 'a dancing girl.' But the mosque received this name not because it was built by a dancing girl, but on account of its gaudy appearance, both inside and outside, decked all over with glazed tiles in bright colours, such as white and blue, and green and yellow. The mosque itself, on that account, suggested to the ignorant peasants of modern Gaur the idea of a dancing girl, covered with bright garments and glittering jewels, and the name *Lalan Masjid* thus really means 'the mosque, which resembles a dancing girl,' and not the 'dancing girl's mosque.' " (Conservation Notes, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 7th April 1903.)

14. - BRIDGE OF FIVE ARCHES.

[Date of construction 862 A.H. (1457 A.D.).]

"This bridge, which lies between the *Lalan Masjid* and the *Kowli Darwazah*, is paved with bricks and stones and has a gentle ascent and descent. It appears to be of great antiquity, and "consists of five pointed arches, the middle one being 11 feet 6 inches span, the next one on each side 10 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the end arches 9 feet 1 inch. The piers also lessen in the same manner, the two middle ones being 10 feet 6 inches thick, and the other two only 9 feet 3 inches. The roadway is $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and 275 feet long." A similar bridge is to be seen south of the *Gummat Mosque*. These two were built over a rivulet which constituted the main drain and means of access to the interior of the town. The inscription found by Cunningham very near this bridge has been published by Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. XLIV, p. 289) and may be translated as follows :—

"The building of this bridge took place in the time of the great Sultan Nizam-ud-dunya waddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmud Shah, the Sultan, on the 25th day of *Sa'ar*. May Allah allow the month to pass with success and prosperity. A.H. 862" (23rd December 1457).

ruins of this mosque which are now in a bamboo thicket can be seen from the public road. In about 1861 it was destroyed, and only a fragment now remains in the shape of a broken wall.¹

16. THE KOTWĀLI DARWĀZAH.

This is the central gate in the south wall of the city of Gaur near Mahdīpūr. It had a magnificent archway which has now fallen in, but before this happened Creighton made a good sketch of the gate (*vide* also Ravenshaw's photograph—*op. cit.*, Plate 19). The gateway had a brick arch 30 feet high and 16 feet 9 inches span. It is said that the Chief of Police was stationed here. There are battlements east and west of the gateway, and on each side apertures still exist from which to fire on an enemy. General Cunningham says: "This gateway appears to me to be of a much earlier style of architecture than that of the Citadel gates. On each face, both inside and outside, there are two sloping semi-circular towers 6 feet in diameter. On each side of these towers there are deep niches with pointed arches resting on ornamental pillars. As all these peculiar features, the sloping towers, the deep niches and the highly decorated pillars are characteristic of the early Muhammadan architecture of Delhi, it seems to me not improbable that this gateway may belong to the same period, or sometime between the [date of the earliest Muhammadan inscription found in Gaur, 1235 A.D.—*tempore* Īltamish] and the death of 'Alāuddīn Muhammad Khaljī [in 1315] when the influence of Delhi was permanent in Lakhnauti." (Report, p. 70.)

17. THE DHUNICHAK, OR RĀJBIBĪ, MASJID.

This is a small mosque to the south-east of the Kotwāli Gate, and lies between the two tanks called Baluā Dighī and Khāniā Dighī. The former is a N × S tank with the District Board road running near it on the west, while the Khāniā Dighī is a smaller E × W tank a quarter of a mile to the north-east of the northern end of the Baluā Dighī. The 12th mile stone from English Bāzār is found near the north-west corner of the latter tank. The mosque in question is 62 feet in length by 42 feet in breadth. There is one large dome, and on the east side three small ones, so that it is similar in construction to the *Lattan Masjid*. The inside room is 28 feet square.

18. THE DARASBĀRĪ MASJID.

[Date 884 A.H. (1479 A.D.): Builder's name Sultān Yūsuf Shāh.]
Between Mahdīpūr and Fīrūzpūr there is a plot of land which people call *Darasbārī* (the lecture room, or *Madrasah*)—probably because a well-known
¹ From Buchanan's reference at the end of his account of *Sehnazir* (*op. cit.*, p. 89) it appears that the woman who built this mosque at Gaur, had the name of Shah Shujā', and made a road from Rājmañal, to join in Sehnazir a road from Gaur and Pandua constructed 150 years previously in the time of Humayūn. H. N. S.

INSCRIPTION
OF
YUSUF SHAH.
A.H. 884.

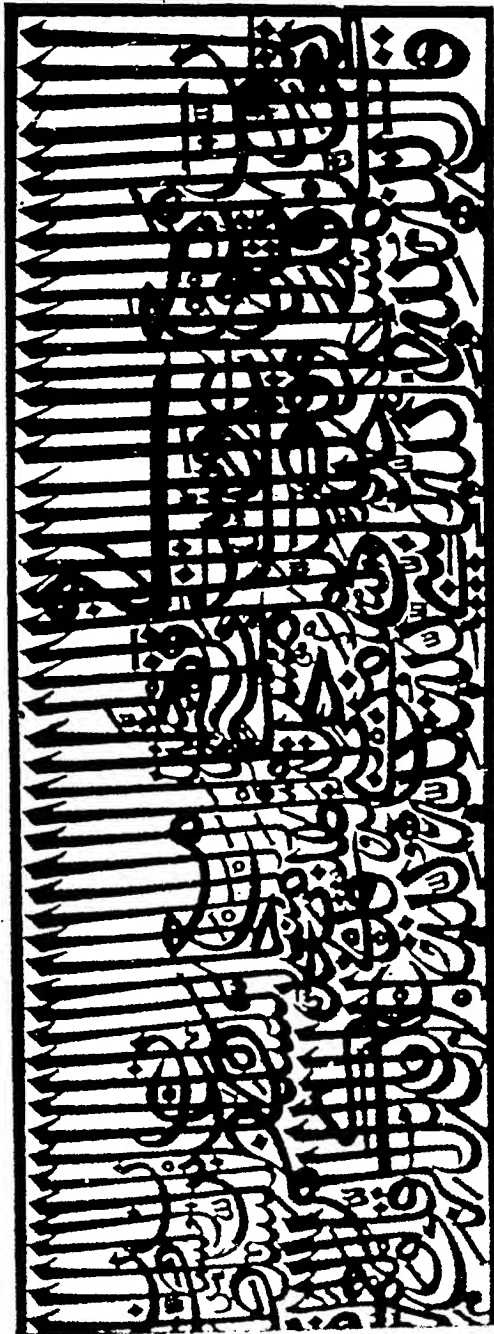


Photo by J. G. G. G.

Engraved at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, September 1901

File No 1772. E. 30-1020

road.

Insertion.

In 1876 a large *Wugbara* inscription, measuring 11 feet 3 inches in length and 2 feet 1 inch in height was found by Minshi Iahni Bakshi under a heap of rubbish at this place. It is now lying in the Calcutta Museum numbered 3239, and a reproduction of it (from Cunningham's Report) may be seen in the annexed Plate III. Owing to the great length of the inscription it has had to be divided into two parts. The reading and translation are given below:—

၂၇၀၀၀၀ ရာခိုင်နှုန်း ။

sovereignty, and may his generosity and benevolence be diffused through the whole world ! (Dated) in the *Hijra* year 884." (1479 A.D.).

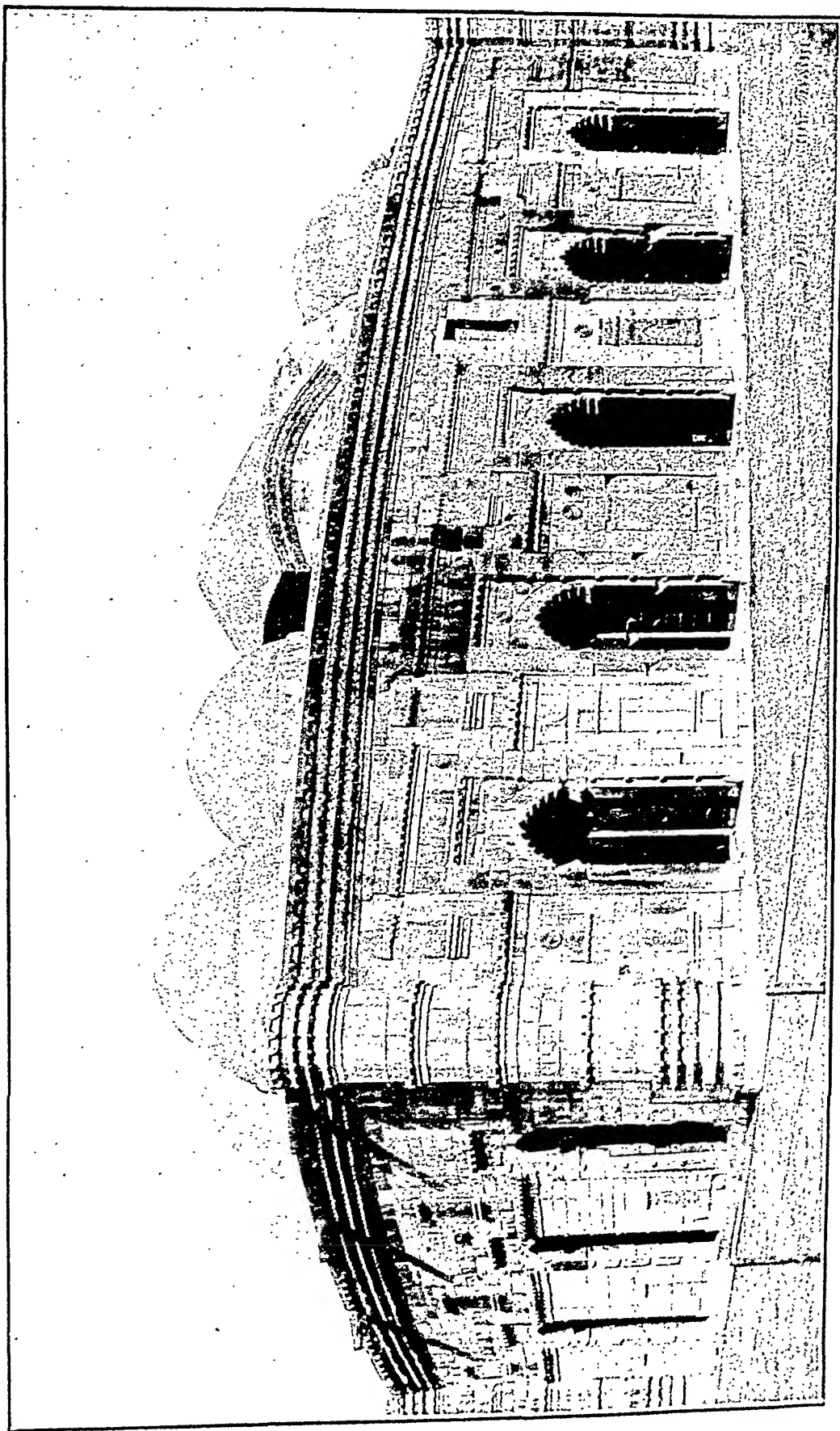


Fig. 16.—Small Golden Mosque, Firizpur, Gaur.

[Built by Wali Muhammad in the reign of Sultan Husain Shah—1493-1519.]

“The inscription slab, which is placed over the middle doorway, has lost both the upper right hand corner and the lower left hand corner and with the latter the *Hijra* date of the erection of the building; but as the name of the King (Husain Shah) is given we know that it was built between the years A.H. 899 and 925, or A.D. 1493 and 1519.” (Cunningham—slightly corrected.)

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

يؤمنون بالله ورسوله ان يؤمنوا

¹ Mr. Forch, late Collector o. Malda, was of opinion that the mosque was built by the Treasurer in charge of the royal *Harem*.

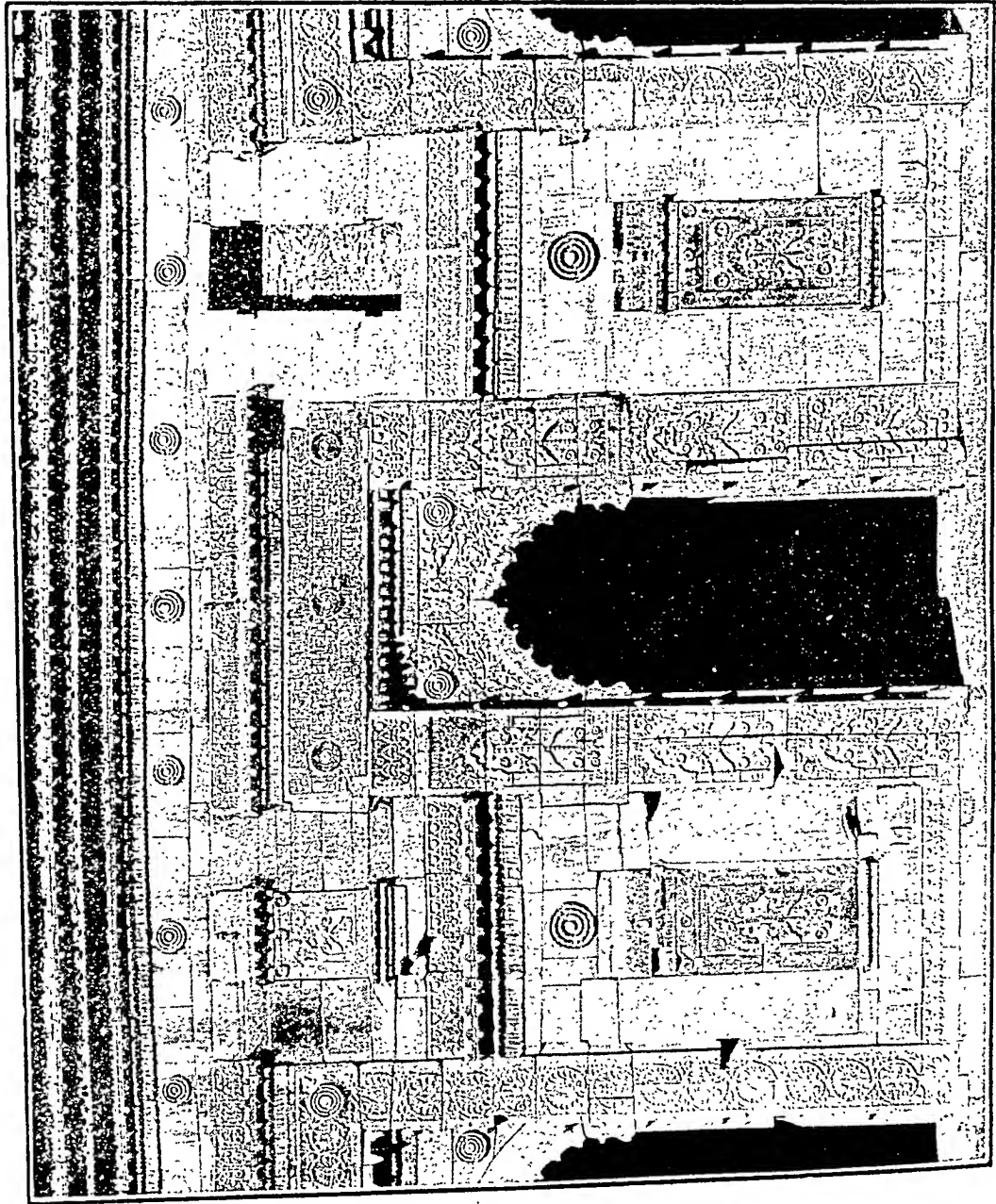


Fig. 17.—Details of Ornamentation round the doors of the Small Golden Mosque, Firuzpūr, Gaur.

"In the mid-line of this inscription there are three ornamental circles, each containing a name of God. That in the middle has *Ya Allah*, 'O God'; that on the right has *Ya Hafiz*, 'O Guardian'; and that on the left has *Ya Rahim*, 'O Merciful.' All these can be seen in Ravenshaw's photograph, Plate 22, as well as the loss of the two corners of the inscription." (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 75.)

* * * (year is broken off).
 day of Allāh's blessed month of *Rajab*!—May its value and dignity increase!
 assist him both in this world and in the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th who has the title of *Majisul-Majalis Majis Mansur*—May Almighty Allāh sincere motives and from trust in Allāh by *Walī Muhammad*, son of 'Alī, his kingdom and his rule! This *Jāmi'* Mosque is built from pure and Abū Muzaffar Husain Shah the Sultān, Al-Husaini—May Allāh perpetuate and proof and the Defender of Islām and the Muslims, 'Alauddunyā waddin Judge, who strives on the path of the Almighty, the Viceregent of Allāh by deed words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme of Auspiciousness, who has mercy on Muslim men and women, who exalts the during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, the Sa'iyid of the Sa'iyids, the Rountain like it built for him in Paradise.' The erection of this *Jāmi'* *Alas'id* took place Allāh bless him!—says: 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh will have a house Allāh: and they will soon be those that are guided.' And the Prophet—May and the last day, and establishes prayer, and offers alms, and fears no one but Allāh says, 'Surely he will build the mosques of Allāh who believes in Allāh *Translation*.—'In the name of Allāh, The Clement and Merciful! Almighty

رجب الله ذروة و شانه *

الملك في الرابع عشر من شهر رجب المبارك

في المجلس الخامس من شهر رجب المبارك في

هذا المسجد الجامع خالما متروكا على الله ولي محمد بن علي

ابن الظاهر حسرتي شاه السلاطن الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلاطته بنى

خالما الله بالحق و البرهان في الاسلام و المسلمين على الدنيا و الآخرة

كلمات الحق و الحقائق في هذا المجلس الخامس من شهر رجب المبارك

السلاطن بنى السلاطن منيع السلاطن ارحم السلاطن و المسلمين على الدنيا و الآخرة

بنى الله له بنى في هذا المجلس الخامس من شهر رجب المبارك في

بنى المعتمد بنى الله على بنى النبي بنى الله على بنى المعتمد بنى

Hindu images in the Small Golden Mosque.

Creighton in his "Ruins of Gour" has published sketches of the figures of the Varāha-Avatāra, Sivānī (or, more probably, Saraswatī), Brahmānī, and Bhawānī (Siva), the Hindu gods and goddesses whose images were found inside the mosque. The stones containing these images were set up in the wall with the figure inside and the freshly ornamented back surface outside. As Creighton points out, the Muhammadan rulers did not like to keep any Hindu temple in their dominion and so they destroyed the temples and utilised the materials in the construction of the mosques. It seems to the writer that the builder of the mosque had collected the stones containing the figures of the Hindu gods from the citadel of Gaur where temples must have existed in the time of the earlier Hindu kings. The builder did not expect that the figures would ever come to light, but the changes of time caused a certain portion of the west wall to fall down and the images were exposed¹.

The Ladies' Gallery.

In the north-west corner of the masjid there is a raised stone platform for the accommodation of ladies. It is partly broken, and one of the missing stones measuring 6 feet 3 inches by 6 feet is lying in the *Dargāh* of Shah Ni'matullāh. If brought back, it would fill the vacant place exactly.

Miscellaneous Notes on the Chhoti Sona Masjid.

(a) The face-stones of the prayer-niches of the west wall were removed when the wall collapsed. It is understood that the whole structure of one of the prayer-niches is now in a Museum in England.

(b) There exists a gate in a ruined state on the east side of the mosque. It was originally faced with stone-work but now all the facings are gone and the interior is exposed. The compound is now fenced with a wire fencing and a wrought iron gate.

(c) The late Dr. T. Bloch in 1909 made the following remarks on the conservation of this monument :—

" I have been very much pleased with the restored tile-work around the springing of some of the new domes in this mosque, and especially with the new

¹ On the other hand, from Manrique's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 128) that, in 1641, he saw figures of idols standing in niches surrounded by carved grotesques and leaves in some stone reservoirs in Gaur, it is quite possible that—except during periods of persecution—the Muhammadan Kings of Gaur allowed idols and Hindu temples to remain unmolested in their capital.—H. E. S.

ornamental stone tablet in the outer façade, to the right of the central arch. The work has been done by a stone-cutter from Benares, who copied the slightly damaged corresponding basalt tablet on the left side. It is certainly as good as any old work ever could have been, and it becomes perfectly evident that, if we had got the complete design, with all necessary details, of any of those ancient mosques, it would merely be a question of expenditure to restore it to its original state."

(d) *Two tombs*.—"At a little distance from the masjid there are two stone tombs. . . . standing on a raised platform 15 feet long by 10½ feet broad. Both tombs bear inscriptions at the head or northern ends; but they contain only [the names of Allah and the *Kalimah* (Muslim formula of faith)]. (Creighton suggests that the tombs may be those of the founder of the mosque and one of his kindred" (Cunningham). Local tradition however says that these are fictitious tombs and that the builder hoarded his wealth there.

20. THE TOMB OF SHAH NI'MATULLAH.

The tomb lies about half a mile to the north-west of the *Chhoti Sonu Masjid* and on the western bank of a large north by south tank. It is a fine single-domed building erected over the remains of the Saint, and is endowed with land said to yield an income of about Rs. 1,500 a year.

Munshi Ibrahi Bakhsh states that Shah Ni'matullah was "a native of Karnaul in the province of Delhi, and was a great traveller. In the course of his wanderings he came to Rājmahal where he was much honoured by Sultan Shuja'. At last he settled in the Rīzūpur quarter of Gaur, where he died, according to one account, in 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) and according to another, 1080 (1669)." The Persian chronogram of his death is given as *Ni'matullah bahr 'ulām mudām*—"Ni'matullah is an everlasting Ocean of Learning": the numerical value of the Persian letters adding up to 1075.

Shah Ni'matullah was a devout Muhammadan. It is said that when Sharif Khan, with some of his wounded retainers, was brought (after a fight near Tanda) before Shah Shuja' to be beheaded, they were all saved by the Saint who requested Shah Shuja' not to kill them. In this shrine there is the gate inscription of Husain Shah dated A.H. 918 (A.D. 1512) which has already been quoted (under No. 9, p. 67). In the same compound—but now wrongly placed on what is said to be the tomb of Mir Ghiyāth Husain Khān, the author of the *Siya'at-Muwa'kkihīn*, may be noticed another inscription which records the building of a gate by Khān Jahan dated the 10th *Zil Hijja* 870 A.H. (1465 A.D., i.e., in the reign of Ruknuddīn Bārbak Shah). "The tomb [of the saint] is a regular *Bārādarī* or 'Twelve Doors,' as it is a square building with three openings on each face. It is 49 feet on each side, with an inner apartment 21½ feet square enclosing the actual tomb." (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 76.)

Jāmi' Mosque attached to the Shrine.

A mosque with three domes lies immediately to the south-west of the shrine. It is in good condition and is said to have been built by the Saint. Both the mosque and the tomb are much frequented by Muhammadans who visit them in large numbers to offer prayers.

Tah-Khāna, or Hot Weather Building.

This is a brick building situated in the middle of the west bank of the big tank, immediately to the south of the *Jāmi'* Mosque at Fīrūzpūr, and some say that Shah Shujā' built this two-storied building for Shah Ni'matullāh. It is 116 feet long from north to south and about 38 feet wide. It has many rooms, with verandahs on both sides, but is now in a dilapidated condition. The roof is a flat-terraced one. The central room is said to be where Shah Shujā' used to sit : and the building is the only one in Gaur in which wooden beams are reinforced in concrete work. It is also said that the building was constructed for the temporary stay of Shah Shujā' when he came to visit his *Murshid* (spiritual guide), Shah Ni'matullāh, at Fīrūzpūr. The building has a very pleasing appearance when seen from the opposite side of the tank : but is now completely deserted owing, it is said, to the severe type of fever that breaks out each Rains in the locality.

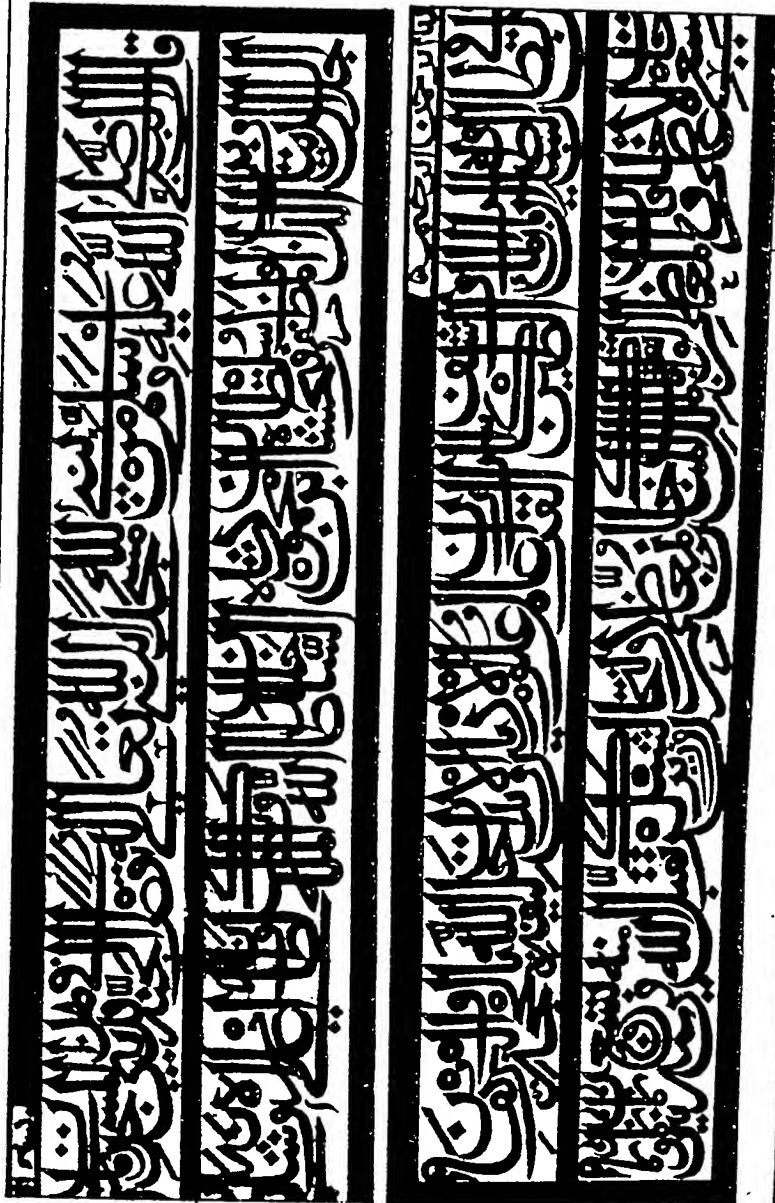
*Abstract of a Farmān granted by the Emperor Aurangzib to Shah
Ni'matullāh of Fīrūzpūr.*

“ As due regard and respect and the fulfilment of the desires and inclinations of the Saiyids, who are directly connected with the Prophet, is deeply rooted in the generous and pious mind (of the Sultān), during this auspicious period an example of Royal munificence has been evinced towards Shah Ni'matullāh, the Asylum of the Saiyids and of the Nobles and of those well acquainted with the art of *Haqīqat* and *Ma'rifat* (spiritual knowledge), and an exalted *Farmān* from the Shelter of Benevolence and Kindness has been issued to the effect that a sum of Rs. 5,000 from the *Pargana* Dar-Sarak in *Sarkār* Jannatābād in the *Sūbah* (Province) of Bengal with effect from the beginning of the autumn harvest be granted to him as his maintenance and for that of his descendants, so that he may pass his life in ease and comfort and continue to pray for the ever-increasing prosperity of the Empire.

“ This Imperial Order shall be considered by all State Officials as permanent, and the *Maūzas* yielding an income of Rs. 5,000 from the above-mentioned *Pargana* shall be made over to him for his maintenance. The above sum

JALĀLUDDĪN FATH SHĀH
Gunmant Mosque, Mahdipūr, Gaur
A H. 839 = A.D. 1484.

BĀRBAK SHĀH
Deotala : A.H. 868 = A.D. 1463.



should be considered as an addition to the grant for *maddad-i-m'āsh* (expense) made to the Holy man by a former *Farmān* from the late Sulṭān.

"Anything (i.e., grant) not mentioned in this *Farmān* should be considered as cancelled."

21. THE GUNMANT MASJID.

[Probable date : 889 A.H. (1484 A.D.).]

General Cunningham's Description (1879).

"This old ruined mosque is not noticed by any of the writers on the antiquities of Gaur, most probably on account of its very ruinous state. It stands near the village of Mahdipur on the bank of the Bhāgirathi or old Ganges, just half a mile to the south of the Citadel, and less than half a mile to the west of the *Lalau Masjid*. It is very briefly noticed by Mr. King (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1875, p. 94) as 'the Gununt Mosque, a large stone building without inscription.' Now there is a long inscription of Fath Shah, dated A.H. 889, at present lying at Mahdipur outside a temporary mosque, with a thatched roof, which is said to have been brought from a ruined masjid to the south of the village by a Hindu about 20 years ago. As his son died soon after, the man thought that the stone had brought bad luck, and therefore got rid of it by depositing it at the thatched masjid of his village. It seems probable therefore that this slab may have belonged to the Gunmant Masjid, as it was actually found not far from it.

"As the masjid stands on the bank of the river, it was easily accessible to pilferers during the rainy season. Nearly one-half of it has accordingly been carried off to Murshidabad and other places. All the lower part up to the springing of the arches was made of stone, rough blocks or boulders inside, with cut facings. The arches and domes were all of brick.

"The ground plan of this masjid is similar to that of the great Adina Mosque at Pandua, and differs from that of every other mosque in Gaur itself. It consists of a centre room 51 feet long by 16 feet 10 inches broad, extending from the front to the back wall. It is covered by a ribbed vault with gable

¹ The original *Farmān* could not be traced but certified copies, both of this *farmān*—which was reported to the Emperor on [-] *Rabi'* II, 1077 A.H. (c. Oct. 1666 A.D.) as having been compiled with—as well as of the earlier *farmān* of Shah Jahān, which was dated 16 *Rabi'* II, 1043 A.H. (c. Oct. 5th, 1633 A.D.), are available in the Malidāh Collectorate. The earlier order was one forbidding the levying of any tax on 400 *bigahs* of waste land that Saiyid Ni'matullah had brought under cultivation at Firuzpur in Gaur and from the proceeds of which he maintained a Mosque and *Khānqah* that he had built there. From the dates of the two *farmāns*, it is evident that the Saint resided at least 33 years at Firuzpur and that the date of 1080 A.H. for his death is more probably correct than the one corresponding to the chronogram.—H. E. S.

ends, and has a window high up in the back wall over the prayer-niche. On each side there are three aisles with four openings to the front. There are, therefore, 12 squares on each side, which are covered with hemispherical brick domes resting on stone pillars 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches square¹. The four middle piers which support the vaulted roof are octagonal, with bases $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet square, and a pilaster on each face corresponding with the smaller pillars of the aisles. The whole of the facing of the back wall and side walls has been stripped off: but as it measures in its present rough *staté* rather more than 7 feet in thickness, it could not have been less than 8 feet originally. The whole building was therefore 140 feet 9 inches in length by 59 feet in breadth outside....The mosque also had a corridor along the whole front, as shown by a portion of the vaulted roof which still remains. This would have increased the breadth by about 18 feet, thus bringing it up to 77 feet, which is just the same as that of the Great Golden Mosque."

22. THE CHHOTA SĀGAR DIGHĪ : AND *Bhīta* (RAISED PLINTH OF THE HOUSE)
OF CHĀND SAUDĀGAR (*alias* THE BELBĀRĪ *Madrasah*).

Beyond the Tāntipārā Mosque, and at about the same distance from the Nawābganj road to the east, as the Gunmant Mosque is to the west, lies a large N × S tank—half a mile long—which is called the *Chhota Sāgar Dighī* (to differentiate it from the main *Sāgar Dighī* in the north-west of Gaur—*vide* later: No. 27). At the northern end of this tank are to be seen the remains of a large building consisting of a number of grey and black polished stone pillars. Though the local people call it "the *Bhīta* of Chānd Saudāgar" yet General Cunningham is more probably correct in referring to

¹ Nine of the domes on the north of the central bay have collapsed but the walls are standing. It is presumed that a ladies' gallery similar to that in the *Adīna Masjīd* existed in the northern bay of this mosque. Beautiful ornamental stones of the corbels supporting the platform have been collected from the site for the proposed local museum at English Bāzār.

[These stones have now (1930) been transferred to the Museum in the Gumti Gate. The *Khān Sāhib* in his original text corrected the length of the building to 158 feet: and the figure given by Cunningham is certainly incorrect as measurements made at my request by the local District Inspector of Schools gave the following results:—

				Outside.	Inside.
Length	..	..	..	157'	142' 9"
Breadth	..	..	..	59'	43' 9"

I may add that the inscription General Cunningham refers to is the beautiful one reproduced in Plate XXIII of his Report, but concealed under the heading YŪSUF SHAH. As it has not apparently been previously read and contains most interesting allusions to the geography of either Gaur or—more probably—Eastern Bengal where several inscriptions of the reign of Jalāluddīn Fath Shah have been found

the site in his map of Gaur as that of the *Belbāri Madrasah*. If the debris were removed, the remains of the building would be revealed and a plan could be prepared.¹

23. THE *Kumbhīr Pir*, OR 'ALLIGATOR SAINT' TANK.

About a mile north-east of the *Qadam Rasul* there is a masonry tomb with a large tank adjoining, the water of which is very clear and which is inhabited by crocodiles. From olden times people of the neighbourhood have believed that these animals are the attendants of a Saint, and some (especially old women) hold that a large crocodile there is the *Pir Sāhib* himself. When the flesh of a goat (or a cock) is presented as an offering, the *Khadim* (attendant) folds the bones and skin into what is called a *pudda* (or *pinda*—bundle), and flings it into the tank, at the same time crying out "Bābā Shāh Khizr, be pleased to

(cf. Blochmann *Geography and History of Bengal*, J. A. S. B., 1873, pp. 282—286), as well as the learning of the ruling Sultān, I give a reading of the inscription as well as a translation below:—

يا الله تعالى الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم
 الله بنى مسجداً بنى بزي سلم عليه و سلم

Translation.—The Prophet—May the blessings and peace of Allāh be on him!—He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Almighty Allāh will build a palace for him in Paradise." Verily this mosque was built in the time of the Sultān of Sultāns, the Valiant Warrior amidst water and clay, who is the Revealer of the Secrets of the Qurān, Learned in all branches of Learning, both as regards Religions, and the (care of) bodies [i.e., a doctor], Viceregent of Allāh by deed and proof, Jalāluddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaṭṭar Rāṭh Shāh Sultān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sultān—May Allāh preserve his rule and sovereignty!—by the Great Khān and Exalted Khān, who trusts in the generosity of the Beneficent, the Exalted Khān Daulat Khān, Commander-in-Chief of the Army (*Wazīr-i-Lashkar*)—May Allāh accept him!—in the year 889 (A.H.=1484 A.D.).

General Cunningham's Plate (which also gives an inscription of Jalāluddīn's elder brother, Bārbak Shāh, dated 868 A.H. from Deotula—vide later p. 169) has been reproduced as Plate IV.—H. E. S.]

¹ An inscription belonging to either this or some other *Madrasah* in Gaur (e.g., that at Darnabār—No. 18) is given later on pp. 157-8.

accept the *pudda*¹." Thereupon a large alligator comes up from under the water to the bank, takes the *pudda* and goes back again. Sometimes, though often called, he does not come, or if he comes, does not take the *pudda*, even though entreated to do so, and then the donor suspects that it is from some fault of his that the offering is not received. It should be mentioned here that the practice of offering *pudda* is growing out of date and is not followed with the same enthusiasm as in the past.

24. PIYĀSBĀRĪ TANK.

Proceeding further northward on our return journey, a large tank only slightly smaller than the *Chhota Sāgar Dighī* is found on the eastern side of the main road, close to the place where the side road leading to the *Bārādwārī Masjid* (Great Golden Mosque) and the *Dākhil Darwāzah* turns off to the west. This is near the 8th milestone, and the tank is known as the *Piyāsbārī Dighī*.

A bungalow has recently been built here by the District Board, on the west bank of this tank. Tradition narrates that the water of this tank was formerly very impure and most injurious to health, and that condemned criminals were allowed to drink nothing but the water from this tank and so perished. Abūl Fazl tells us "Criminals capitally condemned were allowed no other drink than this water, but Akbar stopped this practice." Major Francklin, however, describes the water as excellent which, in fact, it still is. The name *Piyāsbārī*—the "abode of thirst"—must refer to the building in which prisoners were confined. On the west bank of the tank and near the bungalow there is a *pacca ghāt* with two stone-elephants, one on each side, about 3 feet below water level. The cause of these being placed here, and who made them and why, are matters as yet unexplained.

25. TAMALTOLĀ AT RĀMKELĪ.

The small village called Rāmkelī which lies midway between the *Bārādwārī Masjid* and the Piyāsbārī Bungalow, deserves a visit from any one who halts at

¹ This is a relic of pre-Muhammadan times. Khizr in the east is the God of Water and of Rivers. In the west he has even become the patron Saint of England, St. George. Throughout Bengal offerings are made to tanks and rivers on Thursday evenings; but especially on the last Thursday of the month of *Bhadra* (August-September) in which the annual rains begin to cease, ornamented boats, made of plantain leaves, or paper, and having in them offerings of food and a light, are floated on to the water by the woman worshippers in honour of the God. The object is apparently to protect their relatives when journeying by river or on the sea. Our author's account of the feeding of the crocodile is quoted, with slight alterations, from Munshī Ilāhī Bakhsh, and is very similar to the description by Buchanan-Hamilton of the behaviour of two crocodiles in a tank at Matiyāri (cf. pp. 75-6 of V. H. Jackson's edition of Fr. Buchanan's 'Account of Purnea')—H. F. S.

This enormous tank lies about six miles south-west of English Bazar on the north of the road leading to the *Ganga Sutan*, or bathing *ghat* on the Bhāgīrathī—the former bed of the Ganges—at Sa'dullāhpūr, and it is nearly one mile long by half a mile broad; the actual water measures 1,600 yards by 800 yards. The length is from north to south, proving its Hindu origin. It had six masonry *ghats* or landing places, each 60 yards in breadth, four of which faced each other on the east and west banks, while there was also one at each of the north and south ends. These are now only distinguished by the mass of bricks and stones accumulated over their sites and by the more gradual slope of the

27. THE GREAT SĀGAR DIRT.

Two handsomestone pillars stand near the 7th milestone of the Nawābganj Road, on the east side, under a tree. They are very similar to the stone columns of the Great Golden Mosque, and, most probably, once formed part of the Ladies' Gallery of that mosque. Local tradition, however, says that they belonged to the house of a Dīvān, or Prime Minister, of a King of Gaur. The bases of the pillars are now strengthened with earthwork and the front portion of the compound is closed in with wire-fencing.

26. TWO PILLARS.

The trees are now surrounded by a raised platform (*chabutra*), and on this an inscribed tablet has recently (1929) been erected showing Chaitanya sitting in meditation. There is also a footprint in stone of the Master's feet. Besides the larger N x S tank (about 800 feet by 300 feet) called Rūp Sagar that has already been mentioned on p. 34, there are also four small tanks to the north and south of the *chabutra* which are called by the names of *Syama Kunda*, *Rādha Kunda*, *Lalitā Kunda* and *Bisālā Kunda*—it is said after the names of similar tanks at Brindāban. Local tradition states that these four tanks at Tāmāltoḷā were excavated by Jiv Goswāmī, the nephew of Rūp and

Saṇātān.

the bungalow, or is making a tour round the ancient buildings of Gaur that are to be found in the vicinity. It was here that Chaitanya, the great religious reformer of Bengal, arrived in the month of *Jeth* (June) on his way to Brindāban during the reign of Sultan Husain Shah, and halted for a few days at a place in the village now famous as Tāmāltoḷā. The *tamad* tree under which he sat is still in existence, between four *keṭi-kandambā* trees, and it is said that this was the spot at which not only did the Sultan's Brahmin Ministers, Rūp and Saṇātān, become Chaitanya's disciples, but Sultan Husain himself had an interview with the Master.

bank towards the water's edge. This great work is said to have been commenced in the reign of Lakhān Sen about the middle of the 12th century A.D.¹ It is now full of weeds, but is still a beautiful sight ; while the water is pure and sweet up to the present day.

28. TOMB OF SHAIKH AKHĪ SIRĀJUDDĪN 'UṢMĀN.

The tomb of this saint who is locally referred to either as *Purāna Pīr* (the Old Saint), or *Pīrān-i-pīr* (Saint of Saints)² is situated at the north-west corner of the Sāgar Dighī. It is remarkable for the three very elegant embrasures of the old enclosure wall that immediately surrounds the actual building that covers the tomb itself. Those to the east and west are $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep while that to the north—opposite the entrance gate—measures 6 feet in depth. The pierced and decorated brickwork that closed the eastern embrasure has now disappeared, and that on the west is greatly damaged. It is only on the north that the brickwork remains more or less in its original condition.

The enclosure wall with its gate, as well as the simple masonry building over the grave of the Saint, has been repaired of recent years (about 1900), and the only inscriptions now found at the place are fixed, two to the left and two to the right of the doorway of the building that contains the Saint's tomb. One of each of these inscriptions simply bears an inscription from the *Qur'ān*. The other two run as follows :—

Left-hand Inscription.—

قد بنى هذا الباب المروضة مخدوم شيخ اخى سراج الدين السلطان المعظم
المكرم علاؤ الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف
الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و ساطانه سنة ست عشر و تسعمائة *

Translation.—"Verily this gateway of the tomb of the revered Shaikh Akhī Sirājuddīn was built by the Exalted and Liberal Sultān 'Alāudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shah, the Sultan, son of Saiyid Ashraf al-Husainī— May Allāh perpetuate his Kingdom and Rule!—in the year 916 A.H." (1510 A.D.).

¹ Vide Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 6. As, however, it is also mentioned in histories that Husain Shah excavated a large tank in 916 A.H. (1510 A.D.), the *Sāgar Dighī* may have been re-excavated at that time, but, in view of the probable connection of Husain Shah with a building to the north of the *Chhota Sāgar Dighī* (vide Note 1, p. 87) it is more likely that it is the latter tank which is referred to.—H. E. S.

² The former seems more probable, as I am informed that the title *Pīrān-i-pīr* is associated only with the name of the well-known saint 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī.—H. E. S.

* تسعة وتسعون : ثمانون ، واحد : سبعة وفي سورة الله : ثمانون
 تسعة وتسعون : ثمانون ، واحد : سبعة وفي سورة الله : ثمانون
 تسعة وتسعون : ثمانون ، واحد : سبعة وفي سورة الله : ثمانون

A third inscription of 916 A.H.—mentioned by General Cunningham (Report, p. 71)—which recorded the erection of yet another gateway, has now apparently disappeared : but a fourth inscription from this site, recording the erection of a shed for supplying drinking water, has been taken to English Bazar and placed over the gate of a recently erected Mosque (*vide* later pp. 158-9).

As General Cunningham rightly inferred from the dates of the first inscrip-

According to Firishṭa (Bombay edition, Vol. II, p. 737), Akhi Sirajuddīn

It is said by the local *mawlawīs* that the articles of every day use, such as *Qur'ān*, *Tasbih* (rosary), *Rihal* (book-stand), etc., of the Saint have also been buried at the head of the grave, and that this accounts for the abnormal length of the grave.¹

29. THE JAHĀNIYĀN MASJID.

[Date of construction—941 A.H. (1538 A.D.), in the reign of Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd Shāh.]

Ravenshaw referred to this mosque by the name of Jan-Jan Miyān's mosque, but the local people call it the Jhān Jhānia Masjid. Possibly these names are only corruptions of the name of one of the saints (Jahāniyān Jahāngasht) mentioned in the previous paragraph. The building is situated a little to the south of the tomb of Akhī Sirājuddīn.

The mosque is 56 feet long and 42 feet wide, the inner dimensions being 40 feet by 26 feet 3 inches. "It is an oblong brick building faced with stucco, with three arched openings in front and octagonal towers at the corners finished with petty pinnacles above the roof level. The roof consists of six

¹ The late Khān Sāhib has omitted to refer to a very important inscription on some bricks now in the Indian Museum which General Cunningham argued came from a panel of about the same total size that was still visible in 1879 over the main gateway of the tomb of Akhī Sirājuddīn. Cunningham read the last word on the fourth brick to be *Saba'mī'atin* (700), and hence concluded that the King, Ghiyāsuddīn, mentioned on one of the other bricks was A'zam Shah (the son of Sikandar Shah) who reigned as sole king of Bengal from A.H. 792 to 813. The word looks however more like *tisa' mī'atin* (900) in which case the King who put up the inscription was Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd Shah (the son of Husain Shah) who reigned from A.H. 939 to 944. The importance of this inscription is not so much in regard to the King's name, but the place name of *Shahr Muhammadābād* clearly given on the last brick. If Cunningham was right in assigning this inscription to the gateway of Akhī Sirājuddīn's tomb, this gives us in all probability the local name of this part of Gaur. It is hardly likely that the name could have been derived from Jalāluddīn Muhammad (the son of Rājā Kāns—A.H. 818) as all associations of this King were with Pandua. As there is no other King of this name among the Kings of Bengal, it appears highly probable that the name was derived from that of Muhammad Tughlaq of Delhi who, after conquering and slaying Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Bahādur of Bengal about the year A.H. 728 (A.D. 1328), included for a short time Bengal within his dominions. From the existence of the *Sāgar Dighī* it is probable that the headquarters of the Hindu Kings who excavated this enormous tank were in its immediate vicinity, and it would be only natural if the early Muhammadan Governors and Kings of Bengal (including Qadar Khān, the Governor appointed by Muhammad Tughlaq) continued to use the vicinity of the *Sāgar Dighī* as their headquarters. The soundness of the argument depends to some extent on whether or not Cunningham was correct in assigning the inscription to the shrine of Akhī Sirājuddīn, but the fact that Akhī Sirājuddīn was buried at this spot about the middle of the 14th century suggests that at this time the place was still of some importance. In any case the theory just given offers some explanation of the previously unexplained name Muhammadābād, which is found as a Mint name on several coins issued between A.H. 880 (?) and 913.

large domes supported in the inside by stone pillars. Outside the whole face of the wall is divided by bands of cornice into four parallel rows of uniform panels, placed in regular order one above the other. The cornice-bands are all slightly curved in the Bengali fashion" (Cunningham's Report, p. 73). This is a very fine building, and over the middle doorway there is inscription in *Tughra* characters. The reading and the translation are given below :—

بسم الله على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بنى مسجدنا الله بنى الله له بيتا
عظيم في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان ايرك السلطان
غياث الدين و الذي ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان بنى حشرى شاه السلطان
خدا الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيه بنى في مالهى عاتى سترها و ايام الله

معاليه في سنة احدى و اربعه و "سبعائة"

Translation.—"The Prophet—May the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him!—has said, 'Whoever builds a mosque for Allah, Allah will build a similar house for him in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the Sultan, son of a Sultan, Ghiyāsuddunyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Mahmūd Shah the Sultan, son of Husain Shah the Sultan—May Allah perpetuate his Kingdom and Rule! Its builder is the Lady Maṭī—May her virtues be prolonged, and May Allah perpetuate her high position!—in the year 941 A.H." (1535 A.D.). From the inscription we learn that the mosque was built by a lady of high rank, and Cunningham thought that the lady may have belonged to the household of the reigning King Mahmūd III. This building was constructed only three years before Bengal passed into the hands of Sher Shah, and is thus the latest of all the buildings at Gaur, with the probable exception of the *Lukā Churi Gate*.

Ownership of the Jahānīyān Mosque, and Tomb of Shaikh Akhī Sīrājuddīn.

The Manager of the *Shah-Hazari* Estate of Pandua claims these buildings on the ground that Akhī Sīrājuddīn was the *murshid* (spiritual guide) of Hazrat 'Alauḥ Haq, and the Estate receives the rent of the *waqf mahals* set apart for maintenance of these buildings. Repairs to the mosque and tomb are urgently needed, for if they continue to be left uncared for, they will soon fall into complete decay. The domes of the mosque, in particular, ought to be repaired and made watertight.

Section II—Pandua.

PANDUA, or Parua, is a deserted town situated 11 miles from English-Bāzār and 20 miles from Gaur in a north-easterly direction. It was once the Muhammadan capital of Bengal; but it was almost certainly in existence as a Hindu capital long before the advent of the Muhammadans. According to the *Riyāz*, the first mention of Pandua in Muhammadan history is when Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shah mounted the throne of Bengal in Hazrat Pandua after killing 'Alāuddīn 'Alī Shah; but coins struck by the latter king in 743-4 A.H. (1342-3 A.D.) at Fīrūzābād—the Muhammadan court name for Pandua—are known, so that 'Alāuddīn must also have had his capital there.¹ Ilyās Shah himself kept the capital at Pandua after 'Alāuddīn's death in 746 A.H. (1345 A.D.) as coins were subsequently struck by him at Fīrūzābād in 747 and 751 A.H., and no coins of Ilyās (or indeed any subsequent King of Bengal) struck at Lakhnautī are known. The seat of Government seems to have remained at Pandua till the reign of Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd Shah (1442-59) who re-transferred it to Gaur.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's Description of Pandua.

The earliest account of the site is that of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton who, in the course of his survey, about 1808, of this part of the Māldah district, which was then incorporated in the larger district of Dīnājpur, wrote as follows² :—

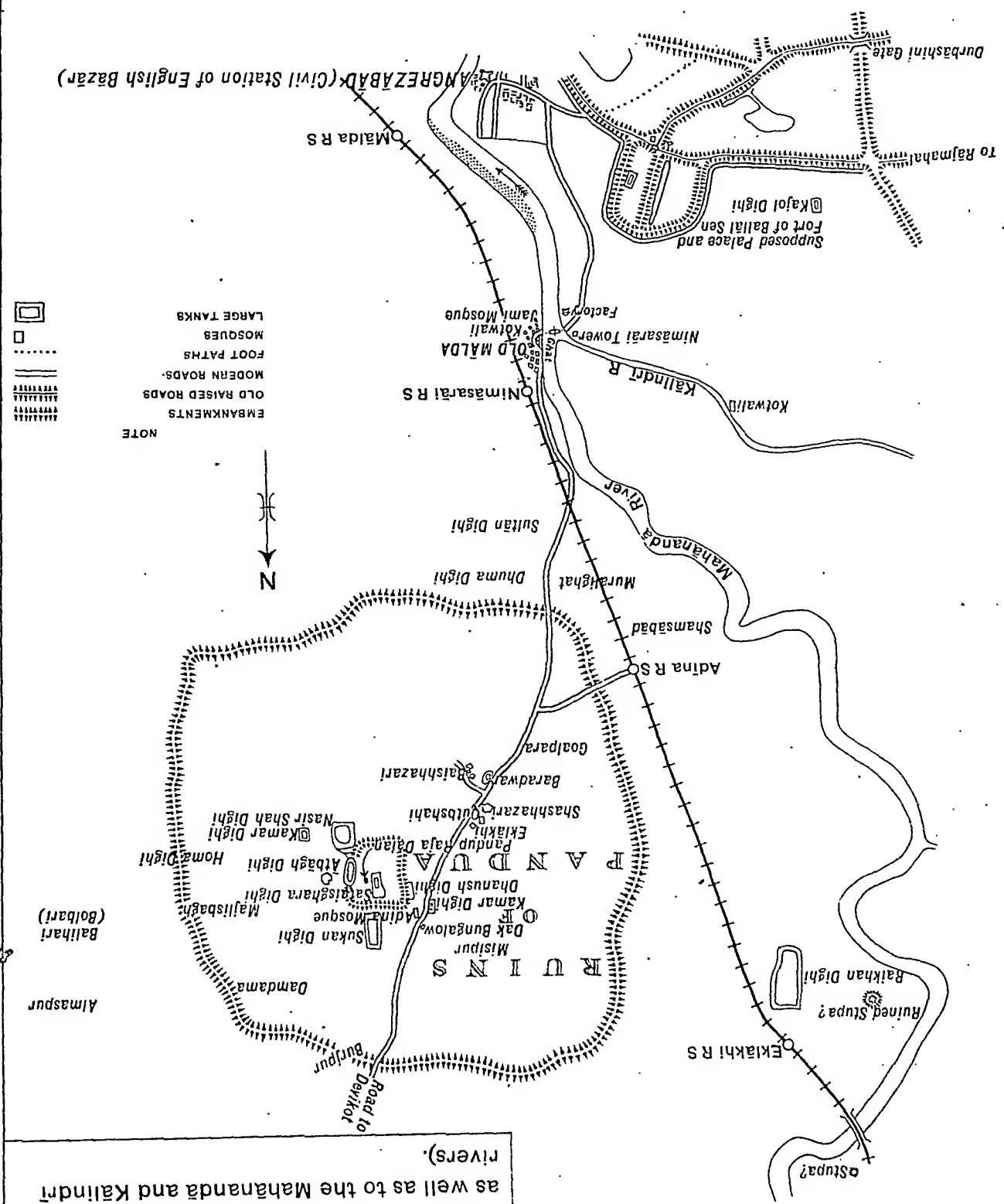
“ A road, paved with brick, from 12 to 15 feet wide, and not very straight, seems to have passed through the whole length of the town; and from about

¹ The name Fīrūzābād indicates that Pandua had been made the capital of Bengal 30 years or more earlier by Shamsuddīn Fīrūz Shah (1301-22) though no coins struck by this King from this mint have hitherto come to light. The name of the place in these times is known from the coins of the Hindu Kings, Danuja Marddana Deva (Rājā Kāns) and Mahendra Deva, issued in 1417 and 1418, to have been Pāndūnagar (the City of Pāndū) which suggests that the tradition then was that the city had been founded by the Pāndū brothers of early Hindu history. In other words, even in the early 15th century it was believed to be a place of considerable antiquity. The tradition has continued down to recent, and even to the present time: *vide* the story quoted on p. 143 from Ravenshaw that the *Satā'isghara Dighā*, was dug by Arjūn Pāndāva; and the existence, to the immediate S. E. of this tank, of the *Pāndap Rājā Dālān*. The reason for the establishment of Pandua in the first instance seems to have been the existence of an 'island' of *bāriul* (old red alluvium), close to the junction of the Mahānandā river, and a former bed of the Ganges. Later, when the main course of the Ganges moved further south and the Mahānandā, which still protects the town on the west, lengthened its course, Old Māldah at the junction of the Mahānandā and the Kālindrī (which took the place of the Ganges) became the actual port of Pandua.

There is another Pandua in the district of Hughli and, in order to prevent confusion between the two, General Cunningham proposed that the site in Māldah district should always be referred to as 'Hazrat Pandua.'—H. E. S.

² *Dinajpur*, Asiatic Society (of Bengal)'s (1833) edition, pp. 43, 44; 41; and 44.

SITE PLAN OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF PANDUA (Showing its geographical relations to the towns of Mālda, Nīmāsarāi and English Bāzār, the northern area of the city of Gaur, as well as to the Mahānandā and Kāliṇdrī rivers).



half a mile south from Mukhammad Shah's gate may extend five or six miles to the north. From heaps of bricks on both sides of this, it would appear to have been a regular street, with brick houses on each side, and the foundations of many of the buildings may be still traced. The monuments of the two sultans, the large mosque of Adilshah, and the monument of Sultan Ghiyath-din, the Eklahit Mausoleum, are on its sides; and near the centre is a bridge of three arches, partly of stones, which has been thrown over a river. It is of no great size, and very rudely formed of materials, evidently taken from Hindu ruins, as they contain figures in rude imitation of the human and animal forms. "At the northern end of the street are evident traces of a mangrove, and the passage through it is called the gate of the mangrove (Gadadhar). At the south end are many foundations, which are as good as lost, and the road itself have also probably belonged to a water; but the forest is there so impenetrable, that the wall could not be traced. To the south of this are many scattered bricks, and beyond that is a mangrove, but they are situated as the street was not be traced farther than the town-fence, just now mentioned.

[illegible]

By the above mentioned person in writing ----- and the
 Monks of the said monastery shall give and deliver the same
 most diligent and ready obedience and the same shall be
 ment of the said monastery in all respects.

[The following text is mirrored bleed-through from the reverse side of the page and is illegible.]

and from all parts of Bengal. That of Mukhdum is chiefly frequented at a very great annual assembly (Mela), while the memory of Kutub is celebrated at four smaller meetings (Ulos), but all religious mendicants (Fakirs) who come at any time, are fed for three days, and this is called charity. Both places have considerable endowments, which are expended in keeping the buildings in repair, and in the support of these vagrants, and of a numerous establishment of servants, who form the population of Peruya. The lands in this district, which belong to the monument of Mukhdum, are called Bais-hazary, or twenty-two thousand, as containing that number of biggahs, and have always been managed by a person appointed by Government. The lands belonging to the monument of Kutub Shah are under the management of his descendants, and are called Chhye-hazary, as containing six thousand biggahs."

*

*

*

"Immediately north from the golden mosque [of Kutub Shah], on the same side of the principal street, is another called that of one hundred thousand (Eklakhy), as having cost 100,000 rupees. It is constructed chiefly of brick, but is the handsomest building in the place. It is a square of 80 feet front, with a small turret at each corner, and roofed by one dome. The walls outwardly have been ornamented with carved tiles, and the dome within has been neatly plastered; but the design of the whole is clumsy It is lighted by four small doors, one on each side, and within forms an octagon, having four miserable chambers in the sides between the doors. These wretched places were probably intended for the abodes of the fakirs, who were to take care of lamps. They have no air nor light, but what comes through the small aperture, by which they communicate with the central hall. This seems to have been intended as the mausoleum of three royal personages, whose tombs occupy the middle of the floor. There is no inscription to serve as a guide, but, it is said, that the tombs are those of Sultans Ghyasud-din, Zaynulabdin, and Wahuzud-din¹. . . The eastern door has evidently been taken from a Hindu ruin, as it contains representations of the human form.

"About 2 miles [or rather less] beyond this monument of Ghyasud-din is the tomb of his father Sekunder, forming part of a very large mosque called Adinah, which is by far the largest building of the place. Indeed it is considered by the people of the vicinity as of almost miraculous grandeur. It is on the east side of the principal street, between that and a large tank, which is almost entirely choaked with weeds and bushes, and has become very ruinous. Enough only remains to enable us to judge of what it has been, and to form a ground plan."

¹ Cf., on the other hand, *infra*, p. 125.

Access to Pandua, and principal objects of interest.

A visitor at the present day can either proceed in a car along the dusty road from the Ximसार railway station (Old Mahlah) to the *dat* bungalow situated near the Adina Mosque, or detain at the Adina station which is about 3 miles from the bungalow. In either case he will cross, at some point of the road, the line of old fortification 20 miles in circumference which the recent air survey have shown to have protected the town in former times (*vide* Plate V).

On approaching Pandua in this way, the first two buildings which attract attention are the shrines of Akabddin Shah *dat* on the right of the road and of Hazrat Nūr Qutub 'Alam on the left. The shrines are called *Bari Dargah* and *Chhoti Dargah* respectively. Numerous pilgrims still repair to these places, and every year two big fairs are held, one in the month of *Rajab* at the *Bari Dargah* and the other in *Shaban* at the *Chhoti Dargah*. The fairs are attended by thousands of persons and each lasts for four or five days. Further on, to the left, come the *Qutb Shahi* Mosque and *Khatkhata* Mausoleum, and, finally, on the right (opposite the *dat* bungalow) is found the great Adina Mosque. It may be added that most of the principal sites are within fairly easy walking distance of the bungalow, though it is better, if possible, for a thorough inspection of the fortifications, to avail oneself of the services of an elephant.

ASTRIGITIES OF PANDUA.

Of the remains of old buildings, tanks, etc., at Pandua, the following are the most important and in the best state of preservation:—

1. The *Bari Dargah*, OR SHRINE OF SHAH JALAL.

1.—Description of the Buildings.

The *Bari Dargah* consists of the *Jāmi' Masjid* (in the northern part of which is the original *Chilla Khāna* of the Saint) and other buildings dedicated to the memory of Hazrat Shah Jalal Tabrizi, who was possibly also the patron Saint of Sylhet. The original shrine at Pandua may have been erected by Sultan 'Alauddin 'Alī Shah at the instance of the Saint in 1342 A.D. [for *story vide* p. 21 and note] as the rectangular pillars of the mosque are of a singularly severe character and—unlike what is seen in other buildings at Pandua, *e.g.*, the Adina Mosque—all use of materials from Hindu temples seems to have been avoided in the original building.

The actual compound containing the buildings is situated 200 or 300 yards away from the main Devkot road, but the existence of a *Salāmi Durrwāzāh*

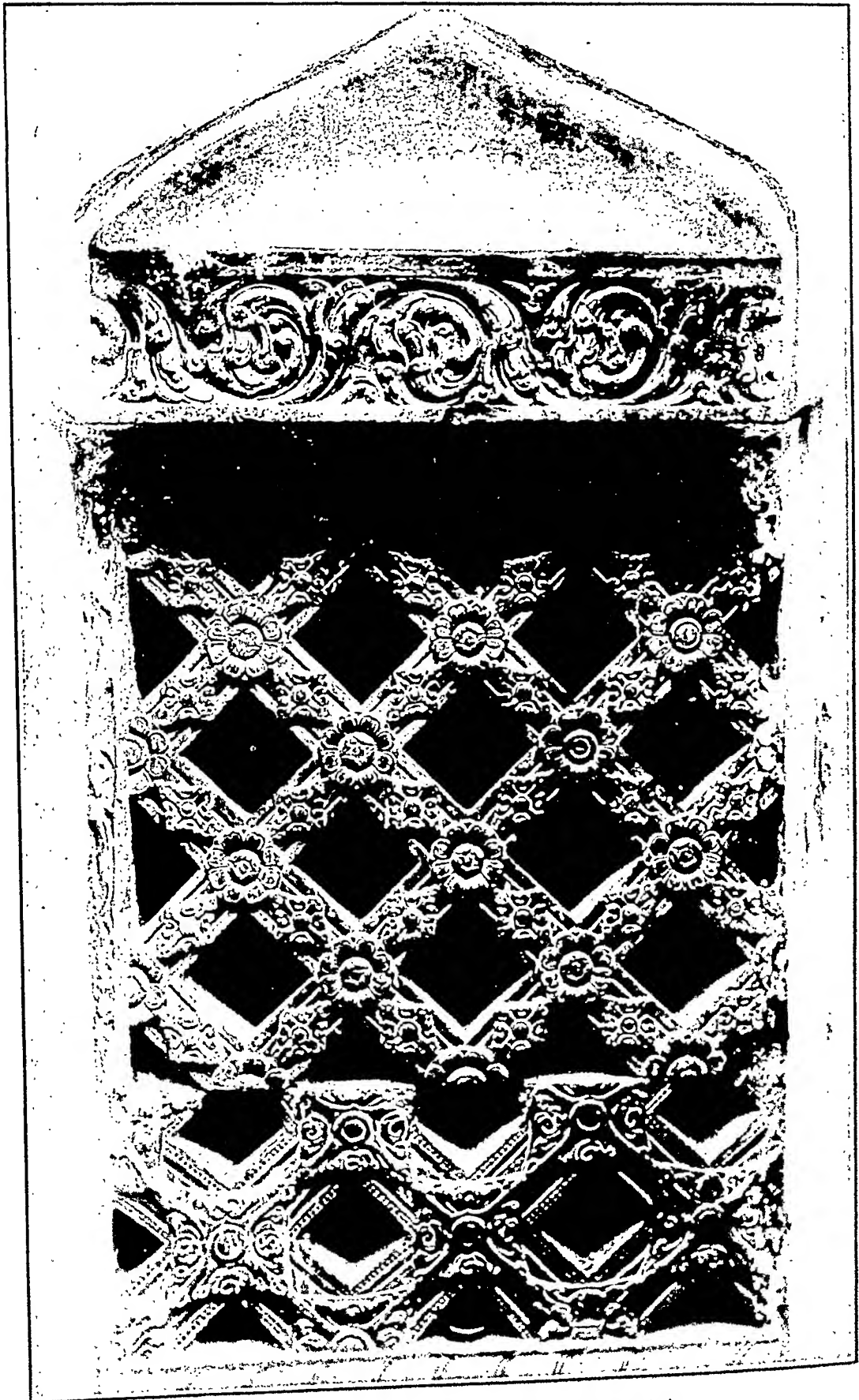


Fig. 18. Carved Stone Screen, Shih Juh's Shrine.

on this road points to the possibility of other buildings having formerly existed on either side of the narrow path that runs in a south-easterly direction from the *Salūni Darwāzāh* to the present main compound.

On entering the compound through a small gateway, an isolated building, containing the grave of Chānd Khān (who erected the *Bhandar Khāna*—wide later under Section C; and note 2, p. 105) with those of his wife and son, is seen in the further south-east corner. Opposite to Chānd Khān's tomb is a short passage leading into the inner compound, and on the north side of this passage is the stone lattice work of which an illustration is given in Fig. 18. On emerging from the passage, the *Jāmi' Masjid* is seen in front, with the *Lakhān Seni Dān* immediately to the left on the northern bank of a small tank. To the right lies Hājī Ibrāhīm's tomb, and the *Bhandar Khāna* (which includes the Saint's second *Chilla Khāna* at the western end), while the *Tannur Khāna* is round the corner to the north-east, immediately to the east of the *Bhandar Khāna*.

Hazrat Shah Jalal.

"Shah Jalāl was born at Tabriz in Persia and was a pupil of Shaikh Abū Sa'īd of that city. After his teacher's death he became the servant of Shaikh Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī and performed offices for him such as no other Saint's pupil ever did. It is said that Shaikh Shihābuddīn used to make the pilgrimage to Mecca every year, but that, being old and feeble, he could not digest the food that was provided for the journey. So Shaikh Jalāuddīn put a *degghdāni* (stove) on his head and a pot in that, and always kept the stove alight so that, whenever the Shaikh called for food, he could give him a hot meal." Shaikh Jalāuddīn is said to have come to Delhi in the time of Khwajāh Shaikh Najmuddīn Sughra, Shaikhul Islām. Owing to a false charge having been brought against Jalāuddīn he was so troubled that he had to leave Delhi and go to Bengal. When he reached there he sat down by the side of a stream to rest, but then suddenly rose and performed his ablutions. In explanation, he said to those about him that he was saying prayers for the Shaikhul-Islām who had just died, and subsequently this turned out to be a fact. After praying he said to those present: "As the Shaikhul Islām sent me out of Delhi so has my Shaikh Mulla Bhai sent him out of the world." The Saint acquired considerable property in Pandua and elsewhere in Bengal, e.g., Deotala, and this estate, which is known as *Bā'is Hazārī* (twenty-two thousand), is still held by a *mutawalli* for the benefit of *fagirs* and the poor.¹ When Shah Jalāl came to Bengal he began to destroy idols, and the numerous *Chilla Khānas* of the Saint probably indicate the actual sites of former Hindu temples.

The *Fatīha* (Death anniversary) of this Saint is celebrated in the month of *Rajab* each year, and pilgrims of all sorts assemble at the shrine from the 1st

¹ *Vide* Notes on Munshi Ilaḥī Baksh's *Khurshīd-i-Jahān Nūmā* by H. Beveridge, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV (1895), pp. 202-203.

to the 22nd of the month, but throughout the year travellers are given meals at the shrine. The Saint's death is said to have occurred in 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.), as expressed by the following Persian chronogram :—

جلال الدين جلال الله جلال عارفان بود *

“Jalāluddīn was the glory of Allāh and the glory of the saints¹.”

The Tomb of Hazrat Shah Jalāl.

The tomb of the Saint Shah Jalāl is not at Pandua but at Sylhet, or, as others say, in the Maldives. It is said that on the occasion of Shah Jalāl's death, one Hājī Ibrāhīm (one of the Saint's followers) appeared simultaneously at all the places of worship (*Chilla Khāna*), where the Saint had been in the habit of praying, and having reported the death, died at each place. This tradition accounts for the several tombs of the Hājī all over the country. The belief is that the Hājī was no other than the Saint himself. The reputed tomb at Pandua is nine feet six inches long and six feet two inches wide.

B.—*The Jāmi' Masjid.*

As has already been noted, the original mosque is said to have been erected by Sultān 'Alāuddīn 'Alī Shah in 1342 A.D. on the spot where Hazrat Shah Jalāl used to sit for meditation. The Saint's seat was formerly enclosed with silver railings. The mosque was repaired in 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) by Shah Nī'matullāh of Fīrūzpūr, Gaur (*vide supra*, pp. 83-5). The *Jhanda* (heraldic device in copper) of Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht ('World Roamer'), as well as an ancient banner, are still preserved in this building.

The inscriptions put up in the east wall of the building are as follows :—

چون این عالی عمارت یافت ترتیب * شد تاریخ روشن آستان باد
۵۱۰۷۵

Translation.—“When this grand building was completed the date was ‘Bright be the shrine’ (1075 A.H.).”

And in another place it is written :—

این عمارت حضرت شاه جلال است * راست کرد حضرت شاه ذومنت الله

¹ The author in accepting this date apparently overlooked the fact that Ibn Batūta, the Moorish traveller, who was in Bengal in 1345-46 A.D., actually visited the Saint at his hermitage in the ‘mountains of Kamru’ (Sylhet), and further records that he heard of the Saint's death a year or two later when he had reached China. Hence it is probable that Hazrat Jalāluddīn died about 1346 or 1347 A.D. As Munshi Hāfi Baksh says 336, the chronogram may only be a record of when Shah Jalāl finally left Pandua. The Saint must have died at a very advanced age, as in his youth he is said to have been in Baghdad when the death of the last Caliph Mu'tasim-billāh took place in 1258 A.D. It must however also be pointed out that as Shah Jalāl's alleged associates at Delhi all seem to have died in the early part of the 7th century A.H., it is quite possible that some confusion has taken place between two or more saints of the same name.—H. E. S.

Translation.—"This is the building of Hazrat Shāh Jalāl. Hazrat Shāh Ni'matullah repaired it."

The stone pillars inside the building for supporting the arches and domes are very massive. The stone slabs that project all round the cornice seem to be taken from the platform of the *Bādshāh-ku-Takht* of the Adina Mosque, and one of them, which has a long inscription on it, ought to be replaced, so that the inscription can be read and the slab preserved. The building is 57 feet long, 64 feet wide and 24 feet high.

There is an inscription on the west wall of the *Siydah-gāh* (place of prostration) to the south of the mosque. It contains sentences of the *Sūrah Alf-Lam-Mim* from the Second Chapter of the *Qur'ān*.

Carved Stone Pillars, and other objects of note in the Inner Compound.

In front of the mosque there are two handsomely carved stone pillars which have evidently been taken from a Hindu temple. Nearby is a stone on which the Saint took his bath, as well as the base of a large pillar on which he is said to have sat when distributing alms.

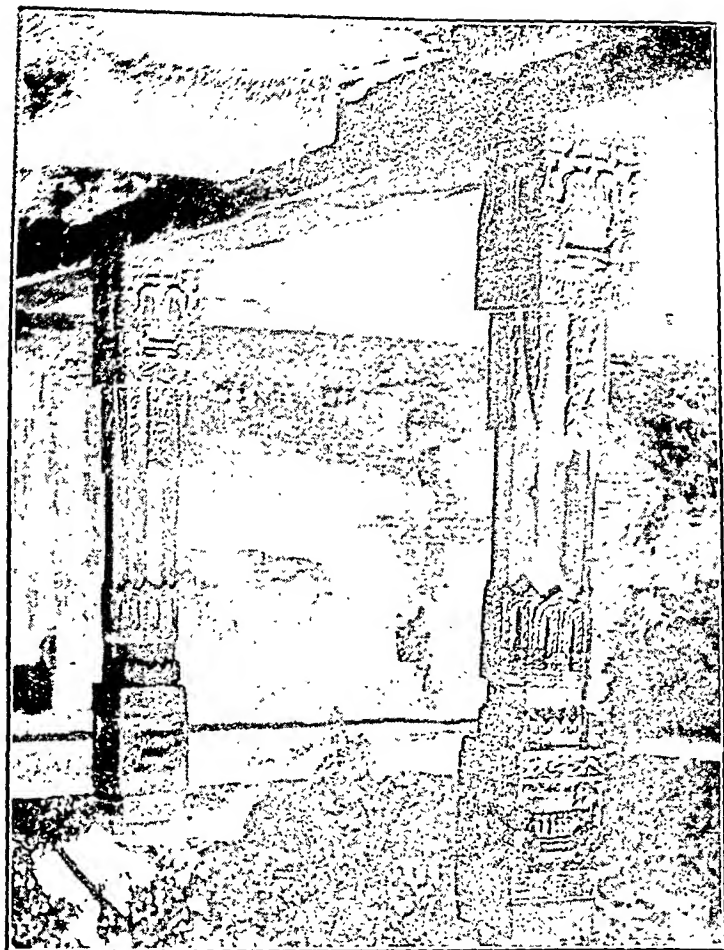


Fig. 19. Carved Stone Pillars at the Inner Compound.

There are also growing in the enclosure a Jack-fruit tree and a Pomegranate tree which are said to have been planted by Shah Jalāl. The branches of the latter are weighed down by small pieces of brick which people who have no children, or are suffering from any disease, tie on to the branches by strips of cloth in order that the Saint may remove their affliction.

C.—*The Bhandār Khāna, or Store House.*

This building was erected by Chānd Khān in 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.) and appears to be only a continuation eastwards of an older building that contained the second *āstānah* (place of meditation) of Shah Jalāl. The local story as to why two *āstānahs* were provided is that when his *Pir*, Shāikh Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī, visited Pandua, Shah Jalāl made him sit on his own seat inside the mosque, and that after the *Pir* left, the Saint had another *āstānah* erected a short distance to the north-east as he did not feel it possible again to use the seat that had been occupied by his preceptor. The entire building (including the *āstānah* room to the west) is 62 feet 4 inches long, 39 feet 6 inches wide and 15 feet 10 inches high and the inscription on the front wall is as follows :—

یا معبود و تو هم بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم بالخیر : یا منقلم

محمد الدین شاه تبریز مولود در مددش زبان ما شد نهر ریز

نیایش برادر خانی ملک این عمارت : که از از عرش اخلاص است لبریز

آفرینشک در بود برادر فرمسا : درین معمار عینا و مفاخیز

معنی را شد : شود در مددش خیر : پس آورد با زبان معنی انگیز

۵۱۰۸۴
موزش در ایام سالی قزوین : شاه جلال الدین تبریز

۱۰۸۴
معمار نام : شاه تبریز و شاکر و جلال تبریزی : بر این بود

Translation. "O Benefactor! O Avenger! In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate! May it ever be well! Shah Jalāl who has been born at Tabriz, in order to grace his own and others' path, he who called Khān erected this building, hence full of grace and light. If people who wish dwell in this earth and to avoid any affliction, the addition of some small bricks to the branches of the pomegranate tree after having given the name of the Saint to the branches will remove the affliction from the afflicted persons. The building was erected in 1084 A.D. (1673 A.D.) by Chānd Khān."

D.—The Lakhan Seni Dalan.

The *Lakhan Seni Dalan* is a small building, opposite the *Bhandar Khāna*, on the northern bank of the tank previously referred to, and appears to have served as a *baalak-khāna* (reception room). It is only noteworthy for the inscription on its front wall, which seems to have been formerly over the first *astana* of Shah Jalāl, i.e., the *Jami* Mosque building, and runs as follows:—

اللہ معظم حضرت مخدوم شاہ جلال تبریز از سین شاہ نعمت اللہ

مزیں شدہ - چوں جنرں چنرں پشتہ پشندہ بنابر بتولیت مولیٰ

ساکس اللہ عمارت عظمیٰ قریب جنبش جنرں - محرم علی سانس

رجوہ مقصدی گوی قرار یافتہ - در استقامت (۵) زلم رام بنکر راج

را عیور زیورہ بتاریخ ۲۲ رجب المرجب سنہ ۱۱۳۴ هجری مطابق سنہ

* ۱۱۱۹ بکریہ مزیں گریہ ۱۱۱۹

Translation.—"This exalted *astana* of Hazrat *Makhdūm Shāh Jalāl* of *Tabriz* was (formerly) repaired by *Sayid Nirmatullah Shāh*. As the wall on the southern side of it was not strong, the building was shored a little during the *mutawalli*-ship of *Mawlawi Haibatullah*. *Mubammad Ali* of *Bari*, being appointed Manager, engaged *Rām Rām*, son of *Bahadur*, to repair it. The repairs were completed on the 22nd *Rajab* in the year 1134 A.H. (1722 A.D.) corresponding to 1119 of the Bengali era."

It would be interesting to ascertain how the building came to be known as "Lakhan Sen's Building". Some say that the *Lakhan Sen* was the *mutawalli* of the shrine for some time.

E.—The ~~Lakhan~~ *Shrine* in *Tabriz*.

This building, which lies to the east of the *Bhandar Khāna*, is 49 feet long, 27 feet wide and 15 feet 6 inches high. There is an arch in this house, which the *Shah* is said to have put in the year 1119.

meat and bread for his teacher while on their travels. The inscription on the building records that it was built by one Sa'dullāh in 1093 A.H. (1682 A.D.), and runs as follows :—

و تم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بانخير*

جلال الدین شہ آن مقبول باری * فرشته خوی شاه دین ر دنیا

میردش ساخت سعد الله از جان * بعالم این بنای راحت انزا

ز ع معمور بنیاده که از رے * خلایق راست تحصیل تمنا

خرد گفته چه سان است این عمارت * که آساید درو پیوسته دلبا

۱۰۹۳ هـ

سروش نیتش در گوش دل گفت * بود والا دکن فیض آما

از مصرعہ اخر سنہ هزار ر نوک ر سه هجری برمی آید *

Translation.—"In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate! May it end well! Jalāluddīn Shāh was the Accepted of Allāh, Angelic in disposition and King of Religion and of the World. His disciple Sa'dullāh erected from pure motives this rest-giving building on earth. How excellent is a structure wherein people attain their wishes! Wisdom asked what kind of building is this in which the hearts of men for ever find rest. An angel from the unseen world whispered to him 'It is a noble building full of bliss.' From the last line the year 1093 *Hijri* comes out."

F.—*The Salāmī Darwāzah, or Entrance Gate.*

This gateway stands on the right hand side of the main road. The gate proper is 22 feet long and 7 feet 9 inches wide. In front of this is a platform where, it is said, the Saint used to sit and perform his devotions. This gateway is built of brick and stone. The roof of the gate has recently been rebuilt in a wrong way by the *dārogā* of the shrine and thus the flat roof is now changed into a hut-shaped one. *Allāh, Shāh Jalāl* is written in Arabic characters on the stone lintel of the gate.

Close by, to the south of this gate, is a very old *nīm* tree. Rumour goes that it has grown out of a *dāntwān* (twig) with which the Saint cleansed his teeth.

Opposite the gateway there is a flowering tree known as *Gul-i-Chin*. The local people allege that a branch of this tree hangs over the road as far as the *Chabutra* of the Saint and daily sprinkles fresh flowers over it. Another story about this branch is that a Hindu overseer once happened to have that branch cut by his coolies. As the branch fell his pony reared, and the overseer fell down and died. Some of the coolies, it is said, also vomited blood and died.

Miscellaneous notes regarding the Shrine.

'The *Puthi Mubarak* or 'Blessed Book.'—Amongst the relics of the Saint there was formerly a book in Sanskrit containing an account of his deeds; but it is now lost, and only a copy has survived. Mr. C. C. Batayal, i.e.s., late Magistrate of Malak, recorded the following note on the subject : " I visited this mosque on the 7th November 1892. In a chest inside the mosque, wrapped up in cloths, or rather rags, are preserved two manuscripts in Bengali character, one on palm leaf, the other on paper. The manuscripts are worn-eaten. That on palm leaf has crumbled into pieces. The one on paper has become unreadable for the most part, as the leaves adhere to each other. Saiyid Wahid 'Ali, *darogah* of the shrine, informed me that in old times one Kin-kar Narayan Chaudhuri, a Hindu, was *mudawalli* of the endowment. He was seized and taken to Dacca to prove his title; and as he was unable to do so he was thrown into prison. One night he prayed to the Saint and was told in a dream that the title deeds were in the possession of the 'Ganges' and that the river goddess would deliver them up if the Nawab agreed merely to take a copy and restore the original to her. So the next morning the Nawab sent a writer with Kin-kar Narayan to the riverside where two books were waited by the waves. The books were copied and again thrown into the river. The present manuscripts were the very same copies. It is said that a Bengali translation of the book was prepared by the late *mudawalli* Maulvi Sadruddin¹.

"I found the language to be Sanskrit. They were preserved with much care and interest; and at the Sripanchami time, I was told that a Brahman used to come to worship the manuscripts. Kin-kar Narayan, it is said, was after then released; and the Nawab sent Chand Khan², *Kolawal*, with a lakh of rupees to spend on charities. I give the story, as I heard it from Saiyid Wahid 'Ali, a

¹ This was Saiyid Sadruddin, *alias* Nawabjan, of Bohar, Burdwan district, who was a great scholar and who presented his excellent Library of Arabic and Persian books to Lord Curzon for preservation in the Imperial Library. He died in 1905.

² If this is the Chand Khan who built the *Bhandar Khana* the date of the occurrence and copying of the books is before 1673. Chand Khan was the son of Darya Khan, whose grave of black basalt is—according to Iltahi Bakhash—to be found in the jungle east of Shahpur, and who made in 1084 (1674) a translation of the *Sinhasan Battisi* (32 Tales of a Throne) under the title of *Kitab Sariri* (Book of the Thrones). The Khan Sahib also notes that one Giris Chandra Rai, son of Iswar Chandra Rai of Bhayur (10 miles north of Bamanagola), claims to be a descendant of Kin-kar Narayan Chaudhuri.—H. E. S.

dārogā of the *dargāh*. It is a pity that the manuscripts have been suffered to fall into decay without any attempt to restore them.”¹

The Waqf Mahals of the Shrine of Shah Jalāl.

The estate connected with the shrine of Hazrat Shah Jalāl Tabrizī, is *waqf* property, and the Trusteeship of the shrine, together with the management of the *waqf* mahals which are said to have been from the beginning in the possession of the shrine, is entrusted to a *mutawallī* who is bound (under the accepted conditions of the original grant) to spend all the proceeds of the *Waqf* Estate on the performance of *Urs* (the Saint's death anniversary), illumination, repairs of the shrine and education of students. He must further keep himself engaged in prayer for the continuance of the “eternal” Government. The present income of the *Waqf* Estate is about Rs. 23,000 a year, and in the disbursement of the funds the *mutawallī* is assisted by a committee.

2. THE *Chhoti Dargāh*.

Within the precincts of this famous *dargāh*, which is about a quarter of a mile to the north-west of the shrine of Shah Jalāl are found (in addition to many other graves) the tombs of the Saints Nūr Qutbul ‘Ālam and his father ‘Alāul Haqq, who probably claimed descent from the Quraysh tribe of Arabia—in particular from the famous general of early Muhammadan times, Khālīd bin Walīd. They were thus of the same stock as the Prophet Muhammad.

Hazrat Nūr Qutbul ‘Ālam.

This renowned Saint was the spiritual successor of his father, and is said to have refused the invitation of his worldly brother, A‘zam Khān, who was

¹ Mr. Batavyal borrowed the Mss. and enlisted the help of Bābu Haridās Pālīt and Pandit Rajani Kānta Chakravartī of Māldah to prepare a transcript. Shortly afterwards Mr. Batavyal was transferred and, after his death in 1898, no trace could be found of either the Mss. or transcript. A rough copy however remained in the possession of Bābu Haridās Pālīt and from this an edition of the work (which is called *Shek Subhodaya*—the ‘Blessed Advent of the Shaikh’) was published by Bābu Sukumār Sen of Calcutta in 1927. The work, as internal evidence shows, is certainly a forgery of the latter part of the 16th century, and was probably prepared to establish a right to the Bā’is Hazārī estates during the preparation of Todar Mall’s rent-roll in Akbar’s time. The author is supposed to be Halayudha Misra, a Minister of Lakshman Sen; but as both King Kapilesvara of Orissa (1434-70) and Sultān Husain Shah of Bengal (1493-1518) are mentioned, this shows the book must have been compiled after 1500 A.D. Mention is made of the erection of a mosque by Shaikh (or Shah) Jalāl in the village of Pāndūnagar (in the Varendra country) which he had obtained by a miracle, and also the gift to him by Lakshman Sen (!) of the village Deotala. Rāmāvati (Gaur) is also mentioned. The Turks are correctly stated to have come eastward from Vihārapātana (Bihār) in the *Saka* year 1124, or 1202 A.D.—H. E. S.

Wazir, or Commander in Chief, to Sikandar Shah (or his son Ghiyāsuddīn A'zam) to take a post at Court. The chronogram of the Saint's death is

نور بانور شد، Light went into Light.¹

Before, however, he died on the 9th of Zil Qa'dah in 818 A.H. (1415 A.D.), Nur Qutbul 'Alam played a most important part in the events that resulted, in the first quarter of the 15th century A.D., in the temporary accession to the throne of Bengal of two Hindu Kings, Dhanuja Marddana and Mahendra, besides, indirectly contributing to the speedy re-establishment of Muslim supremacy under the son of the former, Jalaluddin, whom the Saint had converted to Islam (*vide supra*, pp. 27-29). As Buchanan Hamilton remarked in 1808, there was some truth in the assertion then made to him by the local people that these Saints were the real Kings of Bengal, as it was only according to their pleasure that the temporal Kings could reign.

The Pillars round Nur Qutbul 'Alam's Tomb.

The tomb of the Saint is covered with a canopy of white linen supported by four red stone pillars. There is a fifth pillar at the head of the tomb with the following Persian inscription on it which states that the pillars were presented by one Pirzād Khān in the year 1020 A.H. (1612 A.D.). The inscription is difficult to read but appears to be as follows² :—

به استاذه اساتذہ را از سترها ای سترها ای جان پدرم حاجی ایزد گزینی که
حضرت برهانی الحق والحق شیخ نور قطب عالم به نور فرستاد - زینچ شیر
استاذہ الاولیاء سید سراج و پیوست باذات کمال ایزد گزینی نورش و استاذ کویاں *

Translation.—"The humble slave, son of Hātim al-Millāt, Pirzād Khān, sent as an offering these pillars from the country of Ispāniya to the shrine of Hazrat Buthanal-Haq wad-Din Shaikh Nur Qutbul 'Alam in the month of *Rab'ul Awwal* of the year 1020 (A.H. 1612 A.D.). [They were sent] in charge of Kamāl, son of Darwish Malmī, and [were erected] under the supervision of Gopāl."

A tradition current among the local people about the red stone pillars is as follows :—

A Persian merchant named Adam Saudāgar was coming to India in a ship, with, among other commodities, these pillars for purposes of trade ; but on his

¹ Blochmann (*op. cit.* p. 262) gives the chronogram as *Shamsul Hidayat* (Lamp of Guidance) which corresponds to 851 A.H. (or 1447 A.D.) ; but from the pedigree given on p. 111, it is clear that this cannot be correct.—H. E. S.
² I am indebted to Maulvi Najmul-Husain, Assistant Inspector of Schools for Mubhamadan Education, Rajsahahi Division, not only for this revised reading, but also for much help with other inscriptions, e.g., that mentioned in the next two sections which is now to be found over the gate of the enclosure round 'Alau Haq's tomb. To him also is due the important correction of the Mubhamadan name for Deotala (Tabrizābād, instead of Blochmann's reading Tiruābād) at the end of this book.—H. E. S.

way he was overtaken by a violent storm at sea. He had heard of the power the Saint, Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam, and, solemnly praying for his intervention, vow that if he were rescued from his trouble he would present him with half of his wealth and pay him respect at Pandua. While he was thus praying, the Saint happened to be having himself shaved at his residence in Pandua, when all once the Saint told the barber to stop shaving him and to close his eyes. The Saint then interceded with God on behalf of the merchant who, it is said, received immediate help and his ship was brought safely to harbour. After a while the Saint told the barber to open his eyes and to go on with his work. The barber saw the hand of the Saint wet with water and asked him what was the cause of this. The Saint, after repeatedly refusing, told him what had happened. It is said that when this merchant reached India he first came to the Saint and wanted to present him with half of his wealth, but the Saint declined the offer. The merchant then married his daughter to the Saint and presented him with these five red pillars. It is further stated that the merchant spent the remaining years of his life with the Saint, and died at Pandua.¹ His grave is still to be seen in the cemetery of the shrine, to the south of Shaikh 'Alāul Haqq's tomb.

Shaikh 'Alāul Haqq.

According to the inscription over the gate of the enclosure round his tomb which lies just to the east of his son's tomb, the real name of 'Alāul Haqq, the father of Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam, was possibly Ahmad (*vide* next paragraph), and he was the son of 'Umar bin As'ad Khālidī. These two Saints thus claimed to be of Qūraysh Arab stock and were therefore relatives of the Prophet. 'Alāul Haqq belonged to a well-to-do upcountry family, and was also the spiritual successor of Akhī Sirājuddīn 'Usmān of Gaur.² "They say that when Shaikh Akhī Sirāj obtained the *khilāfat* (successorship) from Nizāmuddīn Auliya and departed for Bengal, he represented that a man of knowledge and rank lived there, and asked how he should manage with him. Nizāmuddīn replied, 'Do not be anxious, he will be your servant (*khādim*)' and so it turned out. They say that Shaikh Sirājuddīn used to be carried about the country, and that cooked food used to be taken along with him, and that his servants would put a hot pot on Shaikh 'Alāul Haqq's head, so that his hair got all burnt off. And he had to pass in this guise before the houses of his relations who were King's ministers" (Beveridge's summary of Ilāhī Bakhsh's *Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā*, J. A. S. B., 1895, p.206). It is also said that Sikandar Shah, who came

¹ From the known date of the merchant Pīrẓād (1612 A.D.), the story can only refer to one of the Saint's descendants and not to the Saint himself, as the latter died 200 years before the presentation of the pillars by Pīrẓād.—H. E. S.

² As already noted on p. 91, Blochmann (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, p. 260) says this Saint died in Bengal in 758 A.H. or 1357 A.D., whereas, from the chronogram given by Munshī Ilāhī Bakhsh, the date of his death would appear to have been 743 A.H., or 1342 A.D. In view of the contradictions in the dates given in the present paragraph and attached notes, the dates require further investigation and verification.—H. E. S.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

It is said that when Hazrat 'Alau' Haqq died Makhdoom Jahangiyān Jahāngashah¹ appeared at Pandua and performed the *Janāza* (funeral prayer) ceremony for the Saint.

The photograph of the tomb enclosure, given by Ravenshaw as Plate 29 of his *Gaur*, shows no inscription over the gate: but when repairs were made some years ago a most interesting two-lined inscription in mixed Arabic and Persian was placed over the gate. It does not appear to have been previously recorded, and, so far as it can at present be read, the text is as follows:—

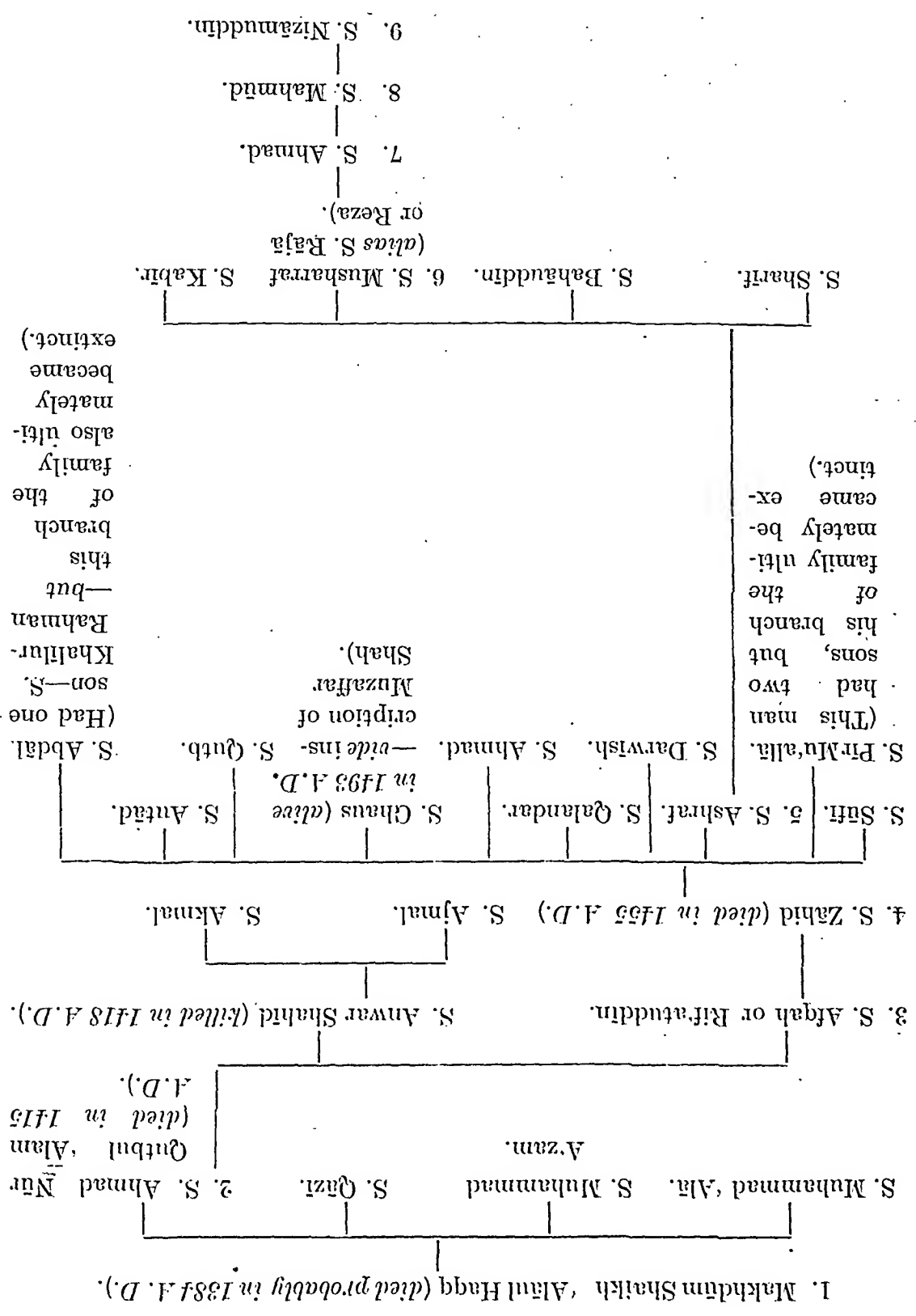
[illegible]

Translation.—"Allāh ! There is no god but He ! the Living, the S subsisting : neither slumber seizeth Him nor sleep : His is whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the Earth ! Who is he that can intercede w Him but by His own permission ? He knoweth what is present with his cr tures, and what is yet to befall them : yet nought of His knowledge do they co prehend save what He willeth. His Throne reacheth over the Heavens a the Earth, and the upholding of both burdeneth Him not ; and He is t High, the Great." (*Qur'ān, Sūrah II—Āyatul-l- Kursī* : Rodwell's translatio p. 400.) "Ra'd (the Angel of the Thunder) uttereth His praise, and the (othe Angels (also), from awe of Him " (*Qur'ān, Sūrah XIII*). May their end be fo tunate ! (Persian) This gate has been erected in memory of Hazrat Shaikh Islām, Crown of the Nation, Full Moon among the Saints who have been united (with Allāh), Accepted at the Tribunal of the Lord of the Worlds, Hop ful of the mercy of the Eternal, by Shaikh Bābū (?) [-i-?] Muhammad Khālī (i.e., descendant of Khālīd bin Walīd)—May Allāh preserve him in both worlds —(for) the place of worship of the pious, the *āstānah* (seat) of Hazrat *Sultān* 'Arifīn (Sultan of the Saints), *Qutbul Aqtāb* (Pole of Poles), Slain by the love of the All-Giver, Hazrat Qutbi-'Ālam, Makhdūm Shaikh Nūrul Haqq wa-sh Shara wa-d-Dīn Ahmad (-i-?) 'Umar bin As'ad Khālīdī, *Sāhib Maqāmī* (i.e., of the highest rank among Sūfis). May Allāh preserve it so long as the Sun and Moon of the Heavens are over your head (i.e., up to the Day of Resurrection) (It was finished) on the 3rd of the month of *Rajab*—May its dignity be respected !—in the year 980 " (A.H., i.e., November, 1572 A.D.).

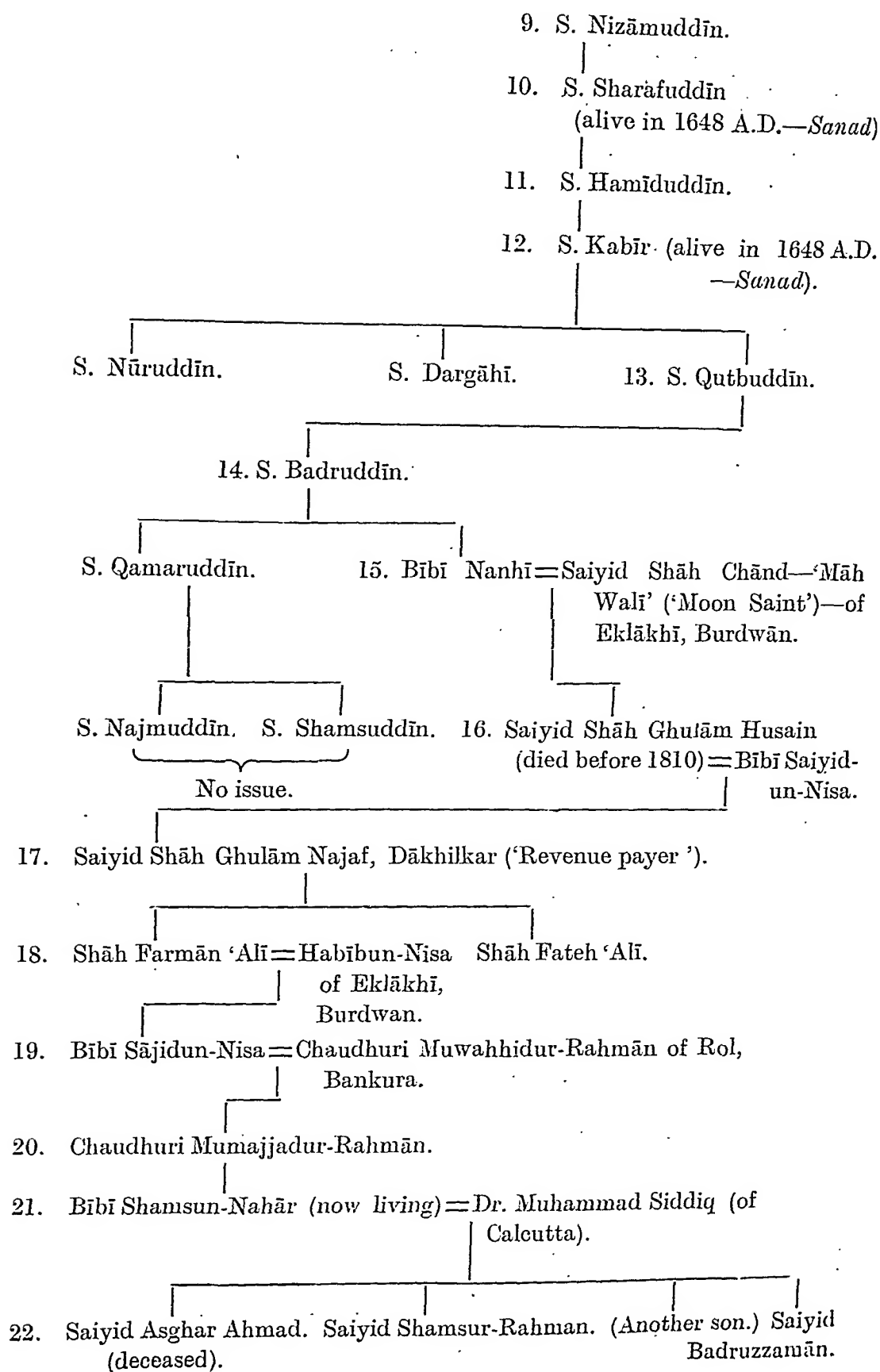
The inscription is particularly curious owing to it hardly referring at all to Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam's father, from which the inference may be drawn that whatever fame 'Alāul Haqq had as a Saint had been almost forgotten by the time this inscription was written. Its special interest however lies in the names that are mentioned. The reading of these is by no means certain as, in the inscription, Bābū Muhammad looks more like Būyā Muhammad, while the actual order of the names towards the end is 'Ahmad 'Umar ī bin As'ad Khālīd'. The inscription was however undoubtedly put up somewhere in the immediate vicinity of where it now is by the builder of the Qutb Shāhī Mosque that lies a little to the north of the shrine ; and a reference to the pedigree of the family in the possession of the Manager shows (a) that the great grandson of Shaikh Abdāl (who was himself one of the great grandsons of Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam) was called Muhammad and that the latter had a son named Bābū ; (b) that Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam's real name was Ahmad and (c) that, while no special name is assigned to 'Alāul Haqq, his father is said to have named 'Umar As'ad Lahorī. The chief importance of the inscription is its support of the family claim to descent from Khālīd bin Walīd, and the fresh light it throws on the member of the family who built the Qutb Shāhī mosque.¹

¹This inscription has only very recently (1930) been noticed and read, and it has not therefore been possible to do more than include a mention of it in the appropriate place. The inscriptions at the Qutb Shāhī mosque obviously need further study in the light of what is now recorded.—H. E. S.

Genealogical Tree of the Qutbi Family of Pandua.¹



(concluded.)



Title Deed of the Shash (or Chhay) Hazari Estate.

There is a tradition that Sultan Husain Shah presented one Sharafuddin, son of Nizamuddin (one of the descendants of Nur Qutbul 'Alam) with 47 villages (rent-free) for the support of the endowment². In course of time the documents became decayed and were shown by Shaikh Kabir, the Superintendent for the time being, to Sultan Shuja'. The latter made a fresh grant to Shaikh Kabir, dated 25th *Shawwan* in the 22nd year of the reign of Shah Jahan, corresponding to 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.). The document bears the seal of Shah Shuja'.

Objects of Interest in the Dargah Enclosure.

The following are the more important objects of interest to be seen in the *Chheli Dargah* enclosure.

¹ When a reference was made to the present Manager of the *Shash Hazari* estate, it was found that the pedigree given by the late Khan Sahib was altogether different from the copy now at Pandua—especially in the generations after about 1500 A.D. The Pandua version has therefore been printed in the text in spite of serious doubts as to even the authenticity of the latter (which is only a copy obtained from the companion of a *faqir* who borrowed the original document some time ago and never returned it). As however the name of No. 16, Saiyid Shah Ghulam Husain, had been replaced in the pedigree by an entry 'Shah Muhammad Wali' (which seems to be a corruption of the title of his father) the latter part has been corrected in the light of the following facts, as well as other enquiries: (1) Buchanan Hamilton in his 'Purnea' (*op. cit.*, p. 463) written in 1810, notes that the estate was then 'under the management of a lady named Bibi Saidun Nesa, widow of Golam Hoseyn.' (2) In the précis of the enquiry made in 1829 by the then Collector of Dinajpur, Mr. J. W. Sage, at the instance of the Board of Revenue, as to whether the estate was *madad-i-wafash* or *waqf*, it is stated that Saiyid Shah Ghulam Najaf, who was then *Sajjada Nishin* (i.e., in control of the estate) was the son of the late Saiyid Shah Ghulam Husain and his widow Bibi Saiyidun Nisa. If we take 30 years to a generation and count backwards from the date of the 1648 A.D. *Sanaad* to the known date of Shaikh Ghayas (1493 A.H.), and forward down to Bibi Shamsun-Nahar (who is still quite young), there is no discrepancy between the expected number of generations and the number as given in the pedigree, so it may be taken in its present form to be approximately correct.—H. E. S.

² As 8 generations (or roughly 250 years) are shown in the pedigree just given between 'Alau Haq and Sharafuddin, the tradition cannot be correct as Husain Shah flourished about 1500 A.D., or only three or four generations after 'Alau Haq. A reference to the confirmation in 1841 A.D. of the *lahiriya* (rent-free) character of the *Shash Hazari* estate shows the actual facts of the case to be that a *sanaad* was granted by Shah Shuja' in 1058 A.H. in the name of Sharafuddin, and that Kabir (Sharafuddin's grandson) was then on the *gadi* (*Sajjada Nishin*). The name of the *Sirkar* in which the estates were situated was Jannatabad. The present Manager says that although the grant was made in Sharafuddin's name, he had previously resigned the management of the estate to Kabir.—H. E. S.

A.—THE *Chilla Khāna* OF NŪR QUTBUL 'ĀLAM.

This is close to the tomb of the Saint and on the west side of it. Although the building is old, the roof and verandah appear to have been built of late years. It is of brick, with stone facing, and there is a good deal of stone carving inside. On the east side there are three doors, over each of which there is an inscription. Those to the left and right are not very legible but, from the reproductions given in Ravenshaw's *Gaur* [Plate 49-No. 8(a) : and Plate 52-No. 15], it may be seen that the former records the building of a mosque in the time of the short-lived Sultān Nāsiruddīn Abūl Mujāhid Mahmūd Shāh II (*Rabī'* II 896-?-A.H.: Spring of 1491 A.D.) by Ulugh Majlis Khān A'lā, while the latter dates from 915 A.H. (1509 A.D.) in Husain Shāh's reign, and also appears to commemorate the building of a mosque by one Ulugh Tāhir Khān. The middle inscription is more legible, and the reference to the tomb being in the *Sūfī Khāna* seems to show that the Saint was buried (like the Prophet himself) within his own house, which has now disappeared but which was rebuilt in 1493 A.D. It should be noted, however, that the local people also refer to the Guest House (now the local Post Office) which lies to the north-east of the main enclosure, as the *Sūfī Khāna*. The Muhammad Ghaus mentioned in the inscription was one of the great grandsons of Hazrat Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam. The wording of the inscription is as follows:—

قال الله تعالى ان اول بيت وضع للناس المذى بيكة مباركا و هدى
للعلمين فيه آيات بينات مقام ابراهيم و من دخله كان آمناً و لله
على الناس حج البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا و من كفر فان الله غنى
عن العلمين بنى فى البيت الصوفية الروضة لقطب الاقطاب قتل محبة
رهاب شيخ المشائخ حضرت شيخ نور الحق و الشرع و الدين سيد قطب
عالم قدس الله سره العزيز و نور الله قبره بنى هذا البيت فى عهد
السلطان العادل البازل الفاضل غوث الاسلام و المسلمين شمس الدنيا
و الدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته و اعلى امره
و شانه بنى هذا البيت فى خلافة شيخ الاسلام و المسلمين شيخ المشائخ
ابن شيخ المشائخ شيخ محمد غوث سلمه الله تعالى دائماً مورخاً السابع
و العشر من شهر رمضان المبارك فى سنة ثمان و تسعين و ثمان مائة*

Translation.—“Almighty Allāh says: ‘Verily the first house that was sounded for men is the one in blessed Bakkah (Mecca) which is a guidance to

Translation.—"Almighty Allāh says: 'Every soul shall taste of death' (*Qur'ān*, III, 182). He also says, 'When their time is come, they shall neither retard nor advance it an hour' (*Qur'ān*, X, 50). He also says, 'Everything on earth fadeth, but the face of thy Lord remaineth full of glory and honour,' (*Qur'ān*, LV, 26).

"Our revered Master, the Teacher of Imāms, the Proof of the Congregation, the Sun of the Faith, the Testimony of Islām and of the Muslims, who bestowed advantages upon the poor and the indigent, the Guide of Saints and of such as wish to be guided, passed away from this transient world to the everlasting mansion on the 28th *Zil Hijja*, a Monday, of the year 863, during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, the Protector of the countries of the Faithful, Nāsirudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Mahmūd Shah, the Sultān—May Allāh keep him in safety and security! This tomb was erected by the great Khān, Latīf Khān—May Allāh protect him against evils and misfortunes!"

C.—*Sijda-Gāh*, OR PRAYING-STATION.

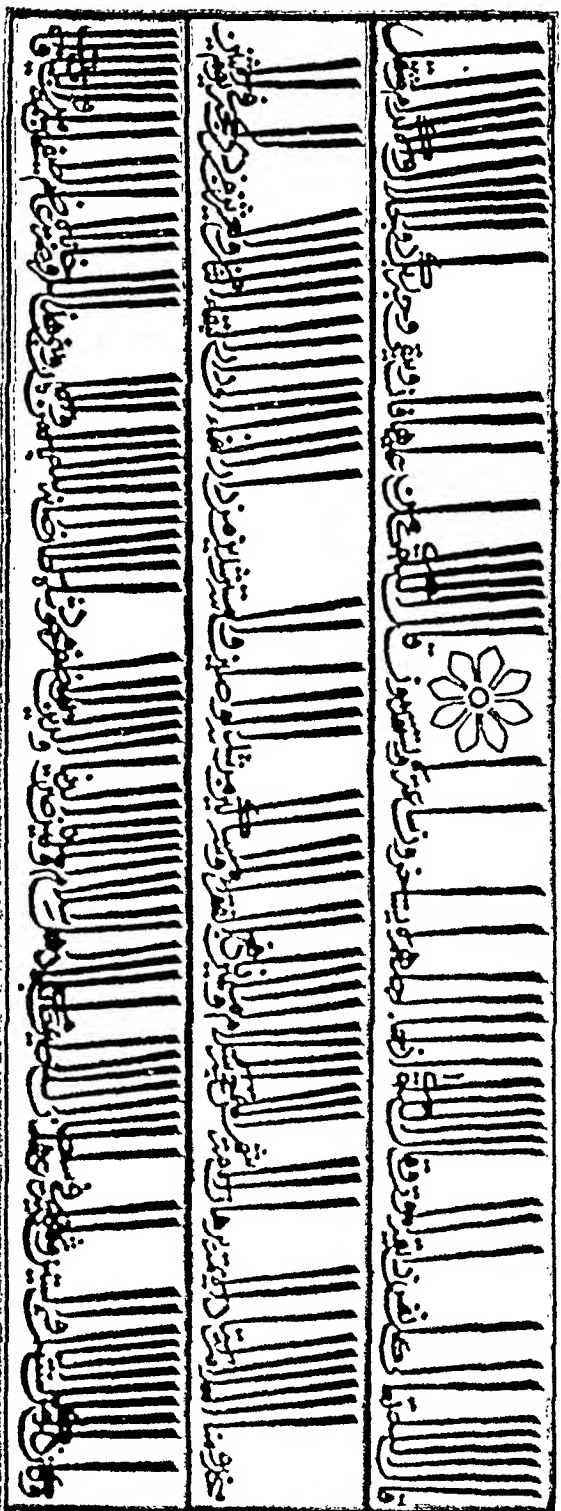
The front wall of the kitchen passage serves as a *Sijda-gāh*, before which persons visiting the *Chilla Khāna* can perform their devotions; and on the east face of this wall is fixed a very big inscribed stone, the reading of which is as follows:—

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجد لله بنى الله له قصرًا
في الجنة ○ بنى هذا المسجد في زمن السلطان العادل البذل شمس
الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن بابر شاه انسلطان بن
محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه مجلس المجالس مجلس
اعلى اعلا الله تعالى شانه في الدارين و كان ذلك في التاريخ هجرة
النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في يوم الجمعة عشرين شهر رجب رجب قدرة
سنة اربع و ثمانين و ثمانماية *

Translation.—"The Prophet—May Allāh's blessing rest upon him!—says: 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, shall have a castle built for him by Allāh in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the reign of the Just and Liberal Sultān Shamsudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh, the Sultān, son of Bārbak Shāh, the Sultān, son of Mahmūd Shāh the Sultān—May Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!—by the exalted Majlis, Majlisul Majālis—May Almighty Allāh exalt his dignity in both worlds! And this took place on Friday, the 20th *Rajāb*—May its dignity be respected!—of the year 884, according to the era of the flight of the Prophet, upon whom may Allāh's blessing and peace rest!"



The Shānāzār Shāh inscription of the Adina Mosque, Pandua A.H. 770.



The Kāsimuddin Mahmūd Shāh's inscription of Pandua A.H. 864.

It is clear that this fine inscription originally belonged to a mosque built in 884 A.H. (1479 A.D.) in the reign of Yūsuf Shah; and that it has been brought to the shrine from elsewhere. A reproduction of the inscription will be found as Plate 47 of Ravenshaw's *Gaur*.

D.—MOSQUE OF QAZI NŪR.

This is a three-domed brick mosque which lies immediately to the north of the tomb of Makhdūm 'Alau'l Haq. Its dimensions are 58 feet by 24 feet. There is no inscription over the door¹.

It is said that one Qāzi Nūr endowed a landed property at Qāzihatta (near the Raikhan Dighi, 3 miles to the north-west) for the proper upkeep of this mosque. The income of this property is still about Rs. 500 per annum and is included in the revenues of the *Shāsh Hazari* Estate.

E.—*Mitha Talao*, OR SWEET TANK.

On the east side of the shrine enclosure there is a tank, said to have been dug in the time of 'Alau'l Haq. The *ghats* are made of stone taken from the neighbouring ruined buildings. Some years ago a carved stone from the pulpit of the Adina Mosque was found at the east *ghat*².

F.—*Bahisht-ka-Darwāzah*, OR GATE OF PARADISE.

This is a small one-domed building south-east of the tomb of Hazrat Nūr Qutb 'Alam. It is said that Shāikh Zāhid, grandson of Nūr Qutbūl 'Alam, was born in this building, which thus became sacred, and pilgrims visit it with the hope that their sins will be forgiven in the next world. Over the gateway there is an inscription in curious characters, but only *Yā Allāh* and *Yā Rūḥ* are legible. It is said that *Ism 'Azam* (the Greatest Name of Allāh) is written on it. The common belief is that persons haunted by evil spirits are freed from them on approaching the door of this sacred place, and crowds of superstitious people are to be seen surrounding the spot to witness the interesting ceremonies by which evil spirits are exorcised when these are being performed.

¹ This mosque has now—1930—been repaired (and modernised) by Bibi Shamsun-Nahar, the eldest surviving descendant of the Saint.—H. E. S.

² It is said that a Hindu *jogi* once presented to the Saint a touch-stone which, however, was thrown by the Saint into this tank. When the *jogi* afterwards dived into the tank to recover the stone he was surprised to find innumerable touch-stones at the bottom of the tank. With some difficulty the *jogi* found his own stone, and afterwards settled in a place close to Rangamati which was henceforth called *Jogia Asan*.

G.—THE *Kālā Patthar*, or BLACK STONE.

This is a little east of the tomb of 'Alāul Haqq and is the tomb of a child named Ināyatullāh, the son of a nobleman of Sabzawār in Khurāsān. The tomb is made of black basalt. The child was buried on the 1st of *Ramazān* 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.); and the inscription on the stone is as follows:—

الله اكبر *

لوح قبر طفل معصوم عذيت الله بن طاهر محمد بن
عماد الدين حسين ابن سلطان على سبزواري نور الله مرقده غرة رمضان
سنة ١٠١٧ هجرى

Translution.—"This is the tablet on the tomb of the innocent child Ināyatullāh, son of Tāhir Muhammad, son of Imāmuddīn Husain, son of Sultān 'Alī, of Sabzawār—May Allāh illuminate his resting place! 1st *Ramazān* 1017 A.H." (November 29th, 1608 A.D.).

H.—TOMB OF SHER KHĀN.

Close to the *Kālā Patthar* there is the tomb of Sher Khān, son of Jawhar Khān. It is said that he was a soldier in the service of the nobleman of Sabzawār.

I.—TOMBS OF SHAIKH AFQAH AND SHAIKH ANWAR.

They were respectively the eldest and the youngest sons of Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam. Shaikh Afqah (or Rif'atuddīn, as he is called in the pedigree given by Ilāhī Bakhsh) was celebrated for his humility. His tomb is beside his father's. Shaikh Anwar is said to have died a martyr at Sunārgāon at the hands of Rājā Kāns. He was famous for his generosity and used to have sheep fattened and killed for the *faqīrs*, though he did not touch meat himself. Between the tombs of the two brothers are those of two other brothers named Mu'inul Islām and 'Ainul Islām, who were devoted servants of Nūr Qutb. Munshī Ilāhī Bakhsh, the author of the '*Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā* (from which most of these notes on the Qutbī family are drawn), suggests that the first of these may have been the Mu'inuddīn 'Abbās, the father of Badrul-Islām, who—according to the author of the '*Riyāzu-s-Salātīn*—was slain by Rājā Kāns before 1415 A.D. for refusing to pay him any respect.

J.—TOMB OF SHAIKH ZĀHID.

Shaikh Zāhid was the son of Shaikh Afqah and grandson of Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam. His tomb is beside his father's on the south side and his prayer stone lies just to the west. He had ten sons. His death took place on the 17th *Rabī'ul Awwal* 860 A.H. (1455 A.D.). The chronogram of his death is—
نداشت "He had no love for the world."

K.—THE *Bibi Mahal*.

This was the house for the *harem* of the Saint Nūr Qutbul 'Alam. It lies north of the shrine and is now a heap of ruins. From the enamelled bricks lying on the site it is assumed that the building was faced with glazed bricks. It is said that the ground storey lies under these heaps of brick. Some carved stone lintels are still lying on the spot.

L.—STONE CAPITAL.

A huge circular stone block, 6 feet 9 inches in diameter and 3 feet 6 inches thick, lies to the south of the *Bibi Mahal*. It seems to be the capital of a stone column, and a photograph of it has been given in Ravenshaw's *Gaur* (Fig. 1: Plate 30). The local people call it the Bath-seat of Nūr Qutbul 'Alam. In 1896 this stone was moved by the then Manager of the Estate and a hole dug to search for supposed hidden treasure. The hole is still visible, and brickwork to a great depth can be seen in the hole.

M.—THE *Musafir Khāna*, OR GUEST HOUSE, AND GATE.

These buildings lie outside the enclosure of the *dargah* and to the north-east of it. The *Musafir Khāna* itself (which is also referred to by the local



Fig. 20.—Copper Drums of Nawab Mir Qasim Khan, in front of the Gate of the *Musafir Khāna*.

people as the *Sūfī Khāna*) is now used as a post office. The gate was built of carved tiles, traces of which are still existing in the walls, but the building is no longer in its original form and the roof is now covered with old wooden beams and *bargas* (small cross beams). The sill of the gateway is a black basalt stone and bears the signs of the Zodiac. On one of the jambs of this gateway are some marks said to have been caused by a *faqīr* named Dokorposh,¹ or Khirka-posh (He of the tattered clothes) who, the legend says, arrived at the gate, hungry and foot-sore and, on being refused admittance, dashed his head against the jamb. He was afterwards admitted to take a share of the food when decently dressed, and; it is said, revenged himself on the authorities by making his clothes eat the meal set before him.

N.—COPPER DRUMS.

Two large copper drums are still lying near the gate of the *Musāfir Khāna*. It is said that they were presented by Nawwāb Qāsim Khān (Nawwāb Nāzīm of Bengal)² whose name is engraved on the border of one of the drums.

It is said that they were used to call the guests to their meals.

3. THE Qutb Shāhī Masjid.

[Built by a Member of the Qutbī Family in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.).]

The Qutb Shāhī Mosque lies midway between the shrine of Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam and the Eklākhī Mausoleum. It is built of brick and stone and had ten domes. The roof has fallen in, but the walls and the pulpit are standing. Its dimensions are 82 feet 6 inches by 37 feet 8 inches. From the inscription it appears that it was built in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) by Makhdūm Shaikh, son of Muhammad al-Khālīdī who was a descendant of Nūr Qutb. It was called the *Qutb Shāhī Masjid*, as a mark of respect to the Saint Nūr Qutbul 'Ālam. The following is the two-line inscription in *Tughra* characters over the doorway:—

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً في الدنيا بى
الله له سبعين قرناً فى الجنة بنى هذا المسجد الشيخ المعظم والمكرم
مخدومنا شيخ بن محمد بن الخالدي صاحب مقام بمقام قطب الاقطاب
راس الاشراف قطب عالم خادم نور مد الله ظله و متع الله اثاره المسمى
هذا المسجد قطب شاهي و تاريخ مخدوم عبيد راجي *

¹ If the true name be Dokorposh, this may be the Makhdūm Gharībūl Husain Dokorposh who is buried near the mosque (6 miles north-east of Raiganj in the Dīnājpur District) noticed by Buchanan Hamilton (*Historical Description of Dinajpur*, p. 34)—H. E. S.

² He was successor to Mīr Ja'far and was defeated in the battle of Buxār—1764 A.D.

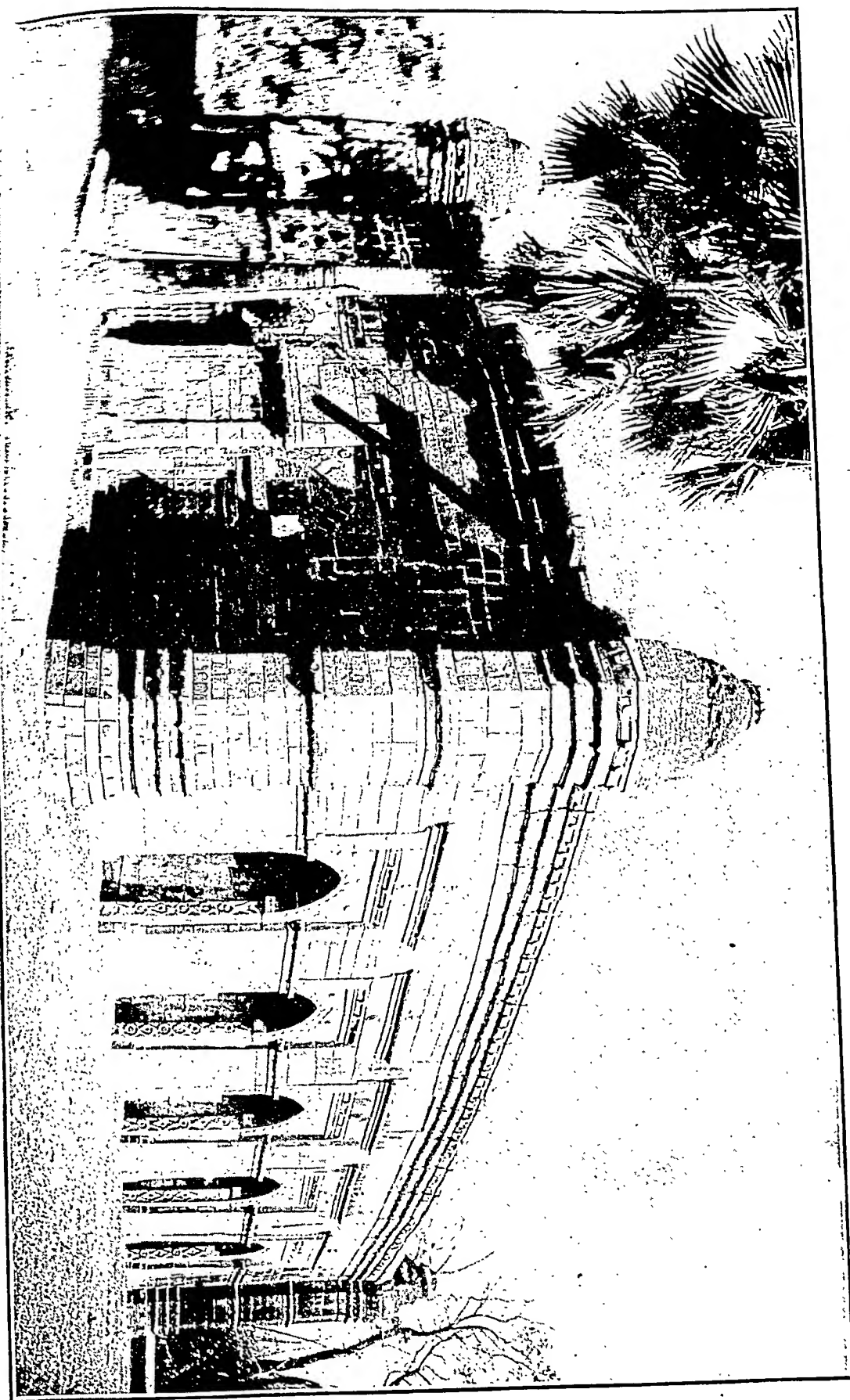


Fig. 21.—Qutub Minar Masjid, or Golden Mosque, Pandua.

Translation.—"The Prophet—May the blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him!—has said, 'Whoever in this world has erected a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build for him seventy palaces in Paradise.' This mosque was built by our great and respected Makhdūm Shaikh, son of Muhammad al-Khālidi who was the Supervisor of the abode of the Pole of Poles and Leader of the Pious. He was a follower of Shaikh Nūr—May Allāh extend his shadow and make his past deeds fruitful! This mosque is called the Qutb Shāhī Mosque, and its Chronogram is 'Makhdūm 'Ubaid Rājī'."¹ By taking the numerical value of the Arabic letters of the last sentence, the date is seen to be 990 A.H.

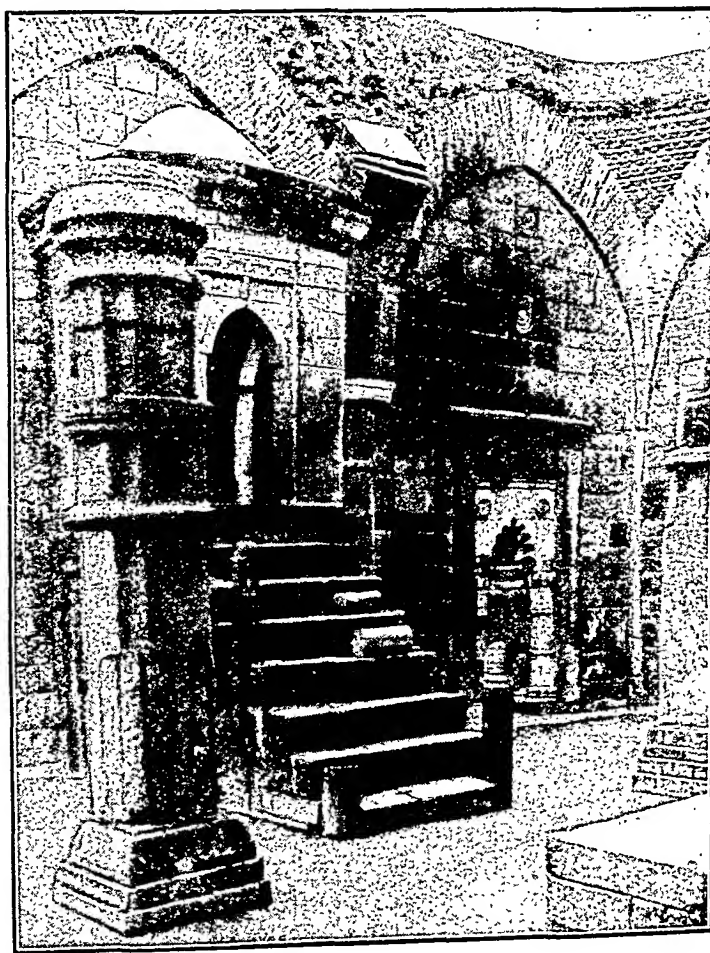


Fig. 22.—Pulpit of the Qutb Shāhī Mosque.

¹ That is "Makhdūm who is the humble servant, hopeful (of God's mercy)." As has already been noted in note 1, p. 110, this inscription, as well as the other two at this mosque, require further study. From the inscription over the gate of the tomb enclosure of 'Alāul Haqq, the real name of the builder may be Makhdūm Shaikh Bābū, son of Muhammad Khālidi—H. E. S.

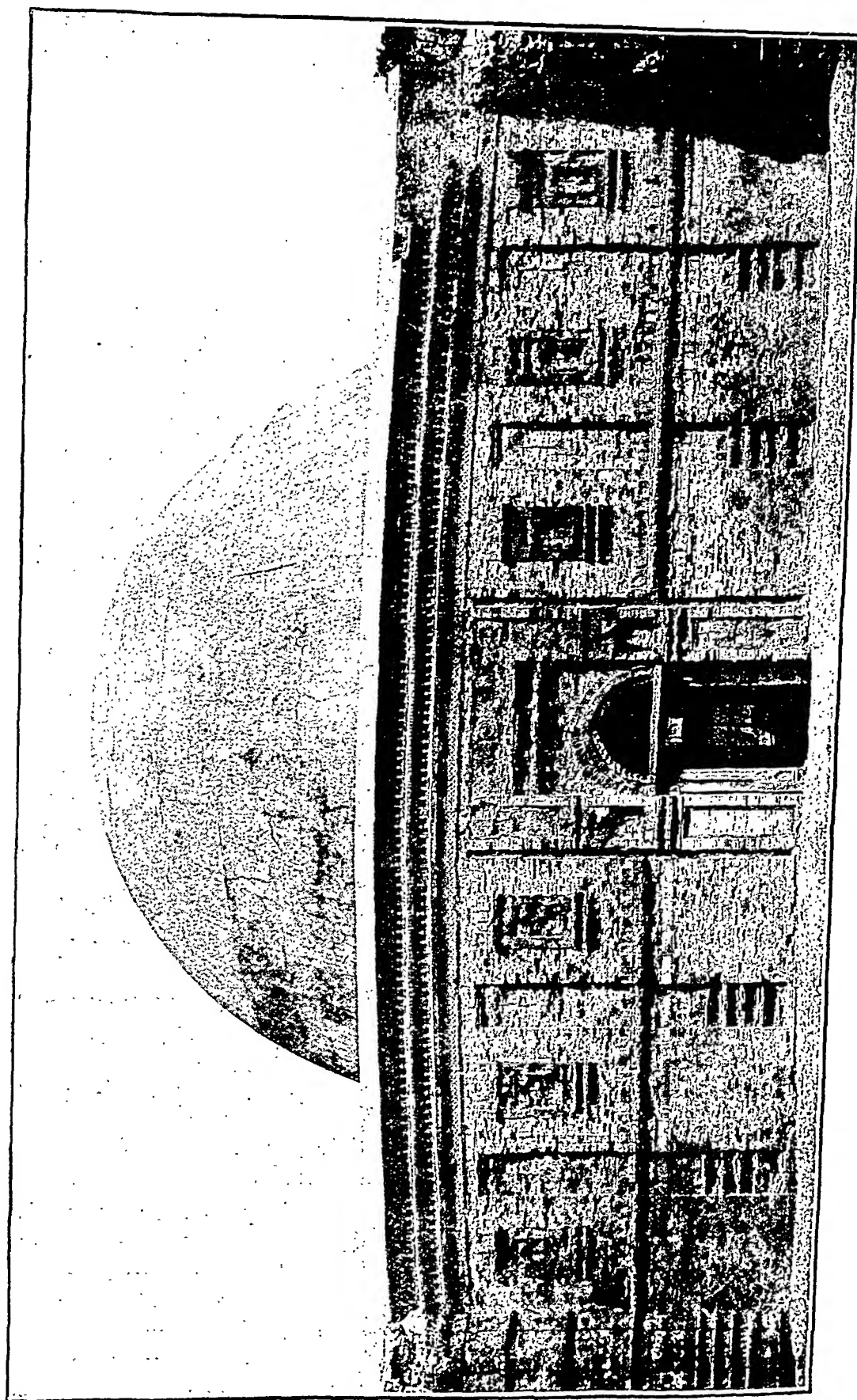


Fig. 23.—*Eklakhī Mausoleum, Pandua.*

Architectural Notes on the building.

(a) *Pierced work in the windows.*—There are two windows in each of the short walls of the mosque, containing pierced stone work for ventilation such as is to be seen in many mosques at Cairo.

(b) The construction of the mosque is excellent though it was built with materials collected from other buildings. The walls are curved at the cornices to imitate the appearance of a bungalow.

(c) The hemispherical domes rested on pointed arches which were built over the pillars. When the pillars sunk, the arches cracked and the thrust of the broken arches caused the domes to fall.

(d) The pillars in the middle of the mosque are all clumsy, and they collapsed when the roof fell in. They have now been set up and the floor has been terraced.

(e) The *Chabutra* in front of the pulpit (*vide* bottom right corner of Fig. 22) is a peculiar feature of this mosque. It seems to be a grave of some *fakir* who was buried in the mosque after it fell into disrepair.

4. THE BAKSHI MAUSOLEUM.

[Probable date of construction c. 1412-15 A.D.]

This is a brick building, with a single lofty dome, which lies a short distance to the north-east of the Qutb Shāhi Mosque. Its dimensions are 78 feet 6 inches by 74 feet 6 inches, the inner diameter of the dome being 48 feet 6 inches. The door openings are 6 feet 7½ inches by 13 feet 6 inches and the walls are 13 feet thick. Its name is due to the tradition that it cost a lakh of rupees. Though the materials are chiefly brick, it is the handsomest building in the place. The external walls are ornamented by carved tiles and the ceiling of the dome is neatly plastered and covered with ornamental work. Its interior is an octagon which is only lighted through the four small doors, one on each side. Over the entrance door is a lintel with a Hindu idol carved on it, and round the doorway are other stones on which may be detected partial representations of the human figure: the original carvings must therefore have been of Hindu origin. There are three graves inside. The author of *Riyāzu-s-Salātīn* states that one tomb is that of Jalāluddīn, the son of Rājā Kāns, and that the other two belong to Jalāluddīn's wife and son. Munsī Iāhī Baksh, the author of the *Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numa*, was inclined to think that the western tomb, which is the highest, is that of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn; that the one to the east is of his son Sulṭān Ahmad Shāh; and that the middle one is the tomb of his wife.

There are two stone posts at the head of the tombs of Jalāluddīn and Ahmad Shah. The stone on that of the latter is raised a little above the level of the tomb, which shows that the grave belongs to a martyr. The stone post of Jalāluddīn's tomb is on the same level with the tomb, and so it is known that he died a natural death.

The architecture of this building is of the usual Indo-Saracenic style and the period seems to be about that of Jalāluddīn's reign. Possibly it was built by his father, Rājā Kāns. As already noted on page 66, it is almost identical in structure with the so-called *Chikā Masjid* at Gaur near the *Qadam Rasūl* building.

Notes on the construction of the building.

(a) *Cells*.—There are four cells in the walls inside the building. These were intended for the readers of the *Qur'ān*. The blessings of Allāh were generally invoked on behalf of the deceased on every completion of the reading of the whole *Qur'ān*. It is believed that "Hāfizes" (persons who know the *Qur'ān* by heart) were paid by the estate for such readings.

(b) *Peculiar construction of the Entrance door*.—The chief door, or public entrance to the east, has its threshold sloping down towards the main room where the Royal graves are lying, a construction making it natural for persons entering the room to bend the head towards the graves of the Kings as a mark of respect. It is possible that it was into this building that Rājā Kāns called Shaikh Badrul Islām, the son of Shaikh Mu'īnuddīn 'Abbās, before he was executed by drowning. His object was to induce the Shaikh to bend his head towards him as he entered the room, but the Shaikh, when entering, thrust forward his legs first and thus avoided saluting the Rājā whom he regarded as a *Kāfir* (infidel).¹

(c) *Grooves in the window frames*.—The other door openings, or rather windows, bear grooves in the stone sills and lintels, which were probably intended to enable these openings to be closed with iron rods. The windows are now provided with wire-netting, and the main door is also closed with the same material and locked. From the stone bearings near the entrance it appears that a wooden door was originally provided for the building.

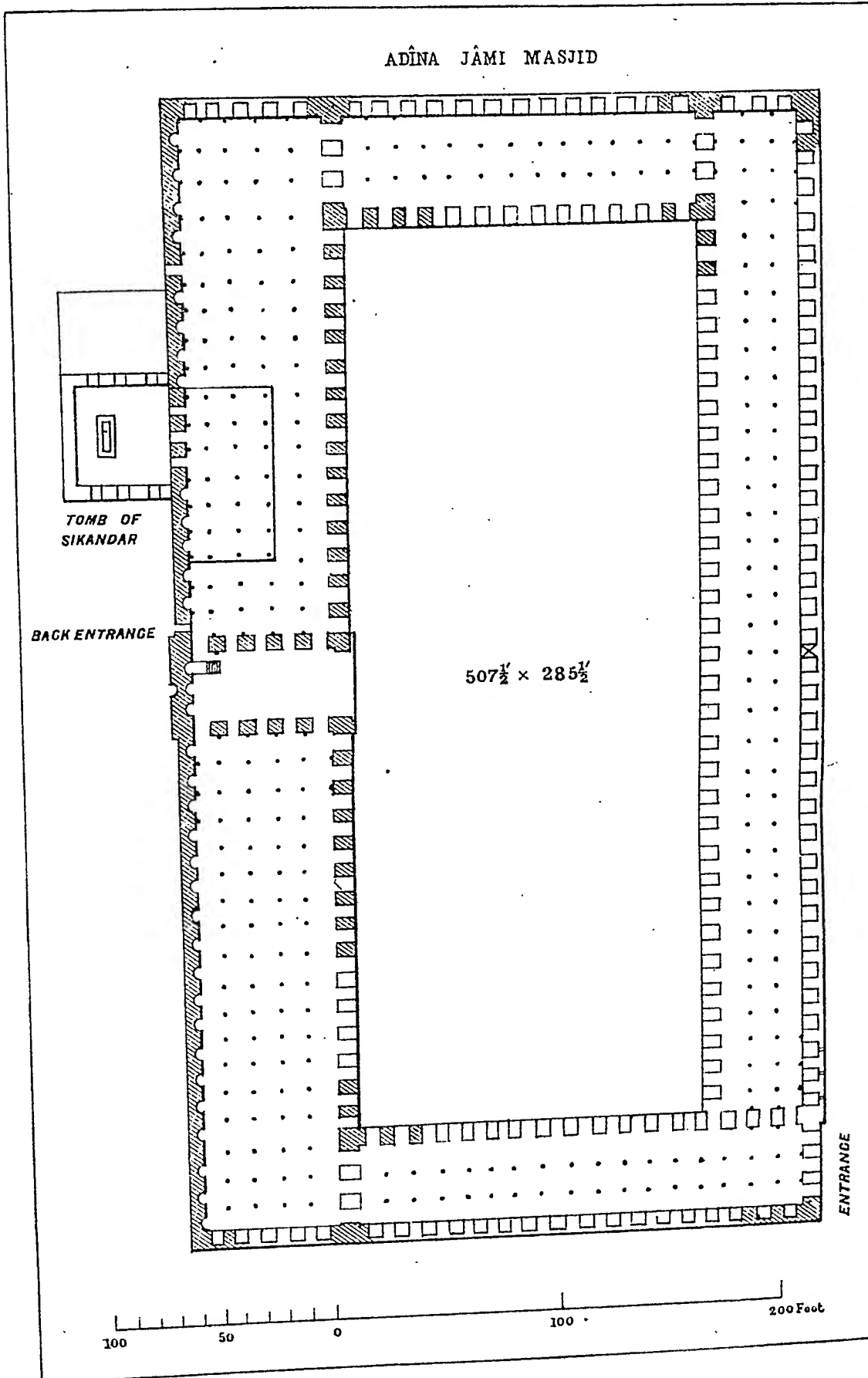
(d) *The crowns of the turrets*.—The turrets at the four corners of the building have lost their capitals, so that these cannot be restored in the absence of any old drawings or photographs to show their original appearance.

(e) As may be seen from Fig. 23, this building has also a curvature in the walls at the cornices to imitate the ordinary appearance of a bungalow.

¹ It may also be added with reference to the supposed connection of Rājā Kāns with the Eklākhī building that local tradition states that when the Rājā obtained supreme power over Bengal after the death of the last of the short-lived successors of Ghiyāsuddīn, out of contempt for Muhammadanism he used the adjacent Adina mosque as his *Kācherī* (Magistrate's Court or Zamindārī Office).—H. E. S.

HAZRAT - PANDUA.

ADÎNA JÂMI MASJID



A. Cunningham, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, September 1832.

HELIO. S. I. O. CALCUTTA

REG. No. 1777. E. 30-1,020.

(f) *Carved ornamentation in the brickwork.*—There are two broad bands of richly decorated brickwork below the cornice. The ornamentation is very varied in design, and no single pattern is often repeated.

5. THE ADINA MOSQUE.

This celebrated mosque was built by Sikandar Shah, between 766 and 776 A.H. (1364—1374 A.D.). Though partly in ruins, it is the most remarkable existing example of Muslim architecture of that period. It is a quadrangular building consisting of cloisters, which surround a central area of the same form. It extends $507\frac{1}{2}$ feet from north to south and $285\frac{1}{2}$ feet from east to west. On the east side, through which the building is entered by an insignificant door, the cloisters are 38 feet wide, and have 3 aisles. The total space is subdivided by means of transverse brick walls and stone pillars into 108 squares, each of which was once covered with a small dome. The northern and southern sides are constructed on the same pattern, but, being shorter, had only 39 and 51 domes respectively in each. The western range of cloisters, being 64 feet in breadth, had 5 (instead of 3) aisles, but as the centre is occupied by the Nave of the mosque the number of domes on this side was only the same as that of the eastern cloister, viz., 108. The number of domes covering the cloisters was therefore 306 in all. The height of all these cloisters was about 20 feet, including a broad ornamented cornice. Towards the quadrangle they opened inwards with arches, which corresponded to the squares. On the outside to the north, east, and south, there are many small windows, highly decorated with carved tiles disposed in arches. The western wall, except for four small doors, and a window high up in the Central Hall, is devoid of openings, but inside there are the usual niches towards which the worshippers turned their faces, when at prayer. Many of these are polished and highly carved. In the southern wing of the western cloister where the common people worshipped, the niches correspond to the 18 rows of arches which form the cloisters. The northern wing of the same cloister only differs in so far as it contains, next to the Central Hall, a raised platform called the *Badshah-ka-Takhi*, which will be described later. This is supported upon thick columns, about eight feet high. The adjacent wall contains three niches and two doors, which are minutely carved and ornamented with passages from the *Qur'an*. These doors communicate directly with a room on the same level called by the name of Sikandar's Chamber. This is 42 feet square, and was formerly covered by nine domes. The outer front of the west side, though rendered irregular by the projection of Sikandar's Chamber, is the best preserved portion of the building, and is highly ornamented. The western wall, up to a height of 11 feet is of stone, but above this is brickwork subdivided into minute squares and most elaborately carved. The doors on this side, which are of stone, are the parts which have been executed in the best taste.

¹ These cloisters have nearly all fallen down and only the bases of the columns and portions of the inside walls are remaining.

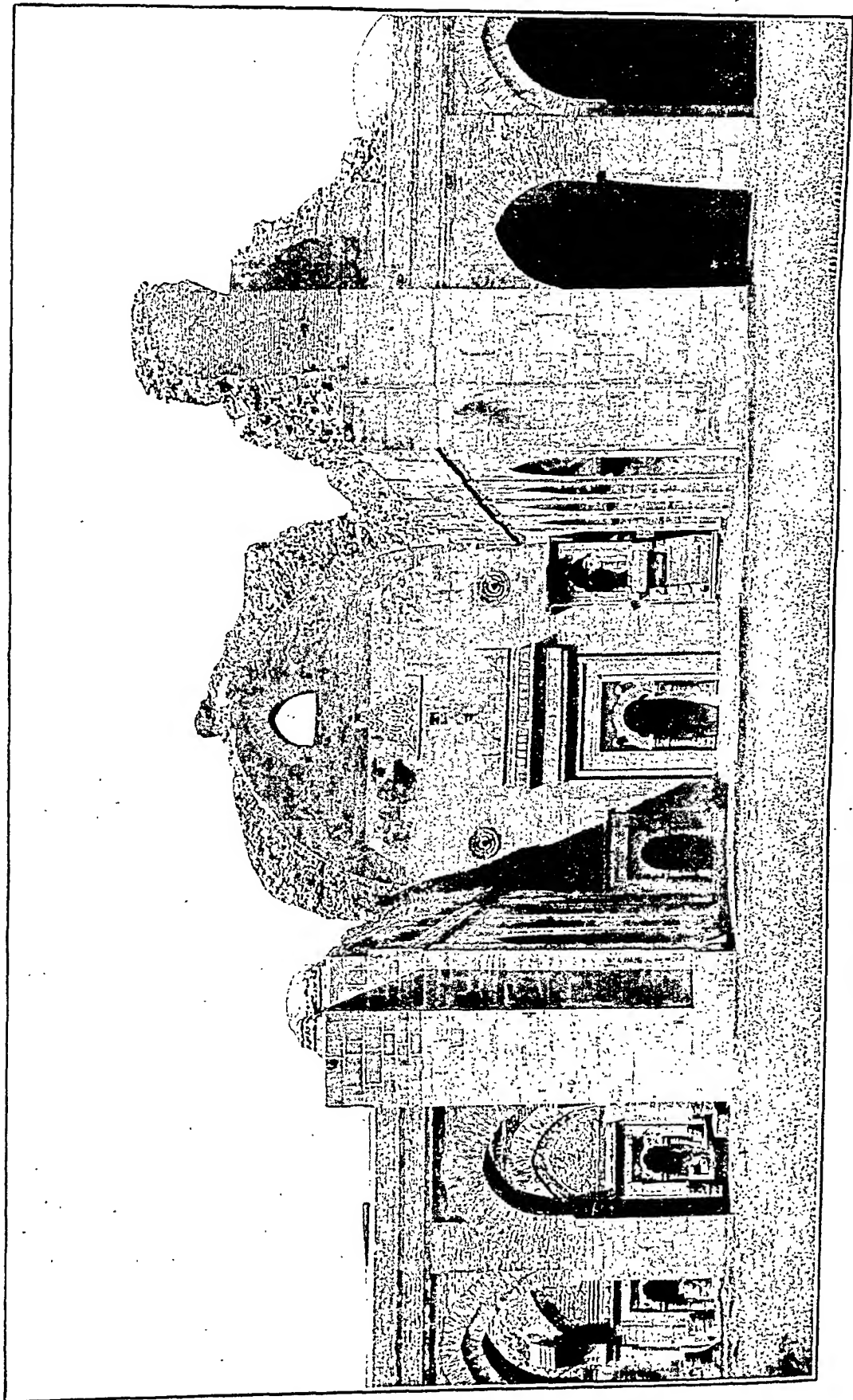


Fig. 24.—Adina Mosque, Pandua : General view of Nave.

Notes on the construction of the Mosque.

(a) As Sikandar Shah at the beginning of his reign was occupied in warring against the Hindus of Sylhet, and as many stones from what must have been Hindu temples are found in the Adina Mosque, it is possible that he was a strict Musalman and encouraged his subjects to be converted to Islam. If so, this would explain why he erected such a large mosque, so that all the Muslim inhabitants of Pandua could gather in one place for their Friday prayers. The building, however, is not specially well designed, e.g., very little care was taken to ensure sufficient light, and the *Badsah-kau-Takhi* is dark even in the daytime.

(b) The projecting portion of the building on the west side for the chamber of Sikandar Shah was an after-thought and it was most probably added by Sikandar Shah for the members of the Royal family, where they used to sit and take rest just before prayer time. There were windows in the south and west walls of this chamber, which were filled in with stone trellis-work.

(c) There was apparently no means of mounting the *Takhi* from the interior; the only way of entering was through the two small doors in the west wall of the *Takhi* through the chamber of Sikandar Shah.

(d) The *Badsah-kau-Takhi* was originally paved with beautiful slabs of black basalt, but nearly all have now disappeared and their place is taken by a wooden platform. In the shrine of Shah Jalal at Pandua several stone slabs can be seen in the cornice of the *Chilla Khana* and at the entrance to the shrine. These were probably brought from the *Badsah-kau-Takhi*. There were railings on three sides of the *Takhi* but no traces of them have been found. It is said that these railings originally belonged to a Buddhist temple.

(e) There is ornamented terracotta brickwork on the west wall of the mosque which is profusely decorated with geometrical drawings and shows how advanced art was in Bengal in the 14th Century. That on the western wall of the *Takhi* is beyond praise. Marks of unfinished work however are still to be seen here and there, as if the building was never properly finished.

(f) The window openings of the mosque on three sides are all blocked up now with plain Gaur bricks. It would be better if they were rebuilt with *jali* (pierced stone) work from the materials lying on the site.

(g) Cement coating over the tops of the exposed walls of the mosque, etc., to protect them from the rain is not very pleasing to the eye. If more funds were available the tops of these walls might be rebuilt with a foot deep, with brickwork in cement with raised figures. The building of the walls which have fallen down might also be renewed with the same material.

(h) There were fluted pillars at the four corners of the mosque. The remains of the two on the western front are still good, but the other two at the time the building was erected.

(i) The stone pillars for supporting the arches and domes are of beautiful construction. They are square at the base, the middle portion is rounded with a slight taper and the capitals are cut slantwise.

(j) A portion of broken wall above the existing roof shows that the domes of the roof were hidden by a parapet.

(k) *A tomb inside the mosque.*—Though it is most objectionable to bury any one inside a mosque, it is said by the local people that a *faqir* used to live here when the mosque was full of jungle, and that, when he died, his disciples buried him in the western cloister, close to the main Hall.

(l) A drainage hole in the east wall is closed by a stone crocodile with a large head and trunk, the mouth of which served to carry off the rain water from the compound.

(m) There are two very large lotus flower rosettes in the west wall of the central hall apparently placed there for the sake of beauty. There are other carved lotus flowers below the *Takht* and in the west wall of Sikandar's chamber. These, as well as the *lingam* which is to be seen high up on the western wall of the main Hall, may have been brought from a Hindu temple.

General Cunningham's remarks on the absence of any Entrance Gateway to the Adina Mosque.

"The most remarkable feature about this great masjid is the total absence of any entrance gateway. There are two small doors in the back wall, but these are mere posterns or private entrances for the convenience of the King and the *Mullahs*. There is also a small arched opening in the middle of the east side, which was no doubt intended for public use; but this is a simple doorway or passage through the walls, unmarked by any projecting wings or rising battlements. The real public entrance I believe to have been at the south-east corner of the cloisters, where the three archways at the eastern end of the south cloisters are left open, so that the people would enter at once into the south and the east cloisters from the outside. As this arrangement utterly spoils the symmetry of the building, it was most probably an after-thought when the single small door in the middle of the east side was found utterly insufficient." (*Report*, p. 91.)

The Great Central Hall.

The large central room which forms the Nave of the mosque is 64 feet long and 33 feet wide. On each side, it has five arched openings. The roof was a long vault, a simple continuation of the main front arch which spanned the whole breadth of the room. Both lines of the vaulted roof are indistinctly marked against the top of the back wall. It is not known whether the front

opening of this grand vault was screened in at the top or whether the whole was protected with a wall above the arch opening ; but it is probable that the opening on the east side was capped by a lofty battlement. The height of the roof was about 60 feet.

The Qibla on the West Wall of the Transcript.

The back wall of the Central Hall has the usual *qibla*, or prayer niche, in the middle, with a pulpit on the north side. The whole of the back wall is very richly decorated, but the carving is shallow and affords a strange contrast

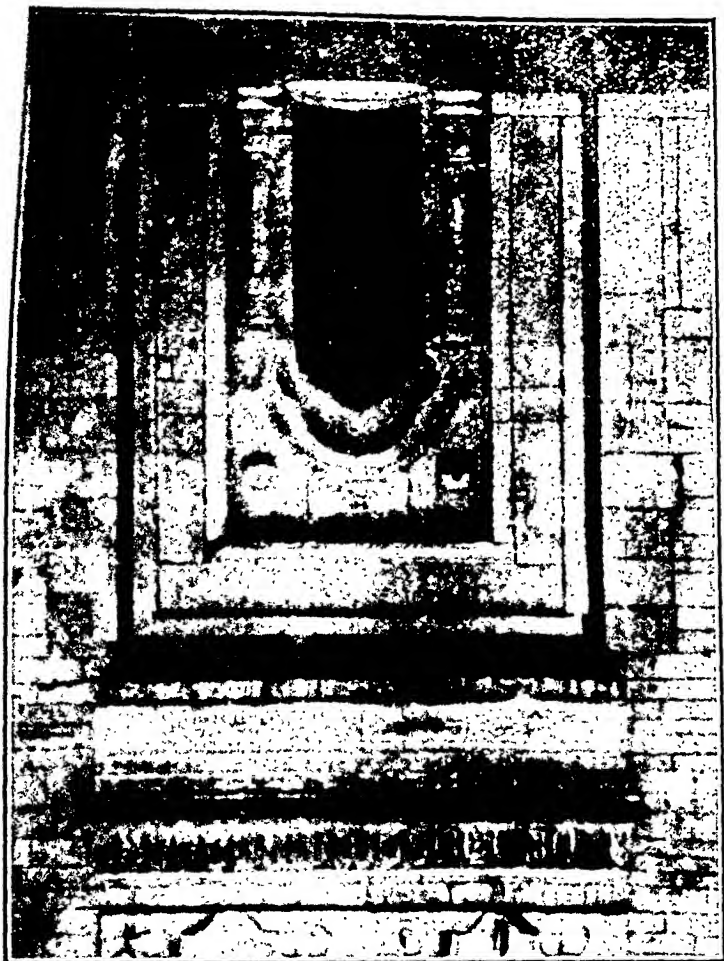


Fig. 25.—Qibla of the Adina Mosque.

to the deep cutting of some Hindu door jambs which are placed horizontally in a single line, touching end to end, just below the line of Arabic writing containing sentences from the *Qur'an* in ornamental Kufic and Thuluth character.

The reading and translation of the inscriptions on this wall are given below :—

Inscription (in *Kufic* character) on the wall at a great height :—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ *

“In the name of Allāh the Merciful, the Compassionate.”

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ *

“There is no God but Allāh and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh.”

Tughra inscriptions containing extracts from the *Qur'ān* :—

قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ارْكَعُوا وَاسْجُدُوا وَاعْبُدُوا *

“Said Almighty Allāh ‘O people, who believe, bend in prayer, touch your forehead to the ground, and worship.’”

قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ
وَأَتَمَّ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أُولَٰئِكَ أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِنَ
الْمُهْتَدِينَ أَجَعَلْتُمْ سِقَايَةَ الْحَاجِّ وَعِمَارَةَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ كَمَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ
وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَجَاهَدَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ لَا يَسْتَوُونَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِي
الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ *

Translation.—“Almighty Allāh said: ‘He only who builds mosques for Allāh, and who believeth in Him and in the last day, and observeth prayer, and payeth alms, and dreadeth none but Allāh, may be counted among those who are rightly guided. Do ye take the giving of drink to pilgrims or building a house for Allāh to be equal in value to him who believeth in Allāh and the last day and exerts himself in the path of Allāh? They are not held equal by Allāh: for Allāh guideth not the unrighteous” [*Qur'ān, Sūrah IX, Verses 18 and 19*—(slightly altered)].

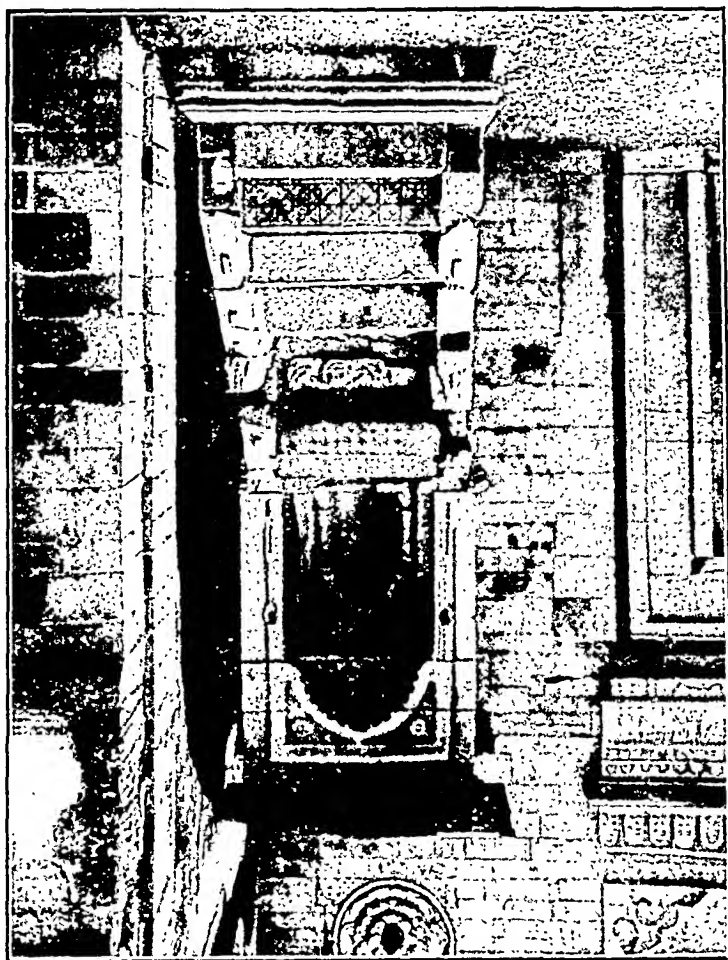
The Pulpit.

On the right hand of the *Qibla* is a *Mimbar* (pulpit) from which the *Imām* preached to the people. It is built of black basalt (*Sung-i-Mūsā*—Stone of

In the broken portion of the steps is to be seen the head of a lion which is supposed to have formed a part of the throne of a Hindu King. There are other Hindu idols in a broken condition in the door sills and in the *mihirabs* (prayer-niches) all over the mosque.

Pulpits of many mosques in Egypt are also provided with small domes. similar to that of the pulpit in the *Qub Shaḥī Masjid* (vid. Fig. 22). regards the roof, possibly it was originally furnished with a small dome as a good thing if the missing steps and railings could be replaced. As the greater portion of the roof of the upper chamber is gone. It would or incense burner. The railings and two steps of the pulpit are missing and rations, it contains a very beautiful reproduction of a circular hanging lamp square chamber, tastefully ornamented with carvings. Among other deco-

Fig. 26.—Mimbar, or Pulpit, of the Adina Mosque.



Moses) curiously wrought with carved work, and the ascent to this pulpit is by a flight of steps of the same material. Underneath the *Mimbar* is a small

The Bādshāh-ka-Takht.

This upper room, which is situated directly to the north of the Central Hall, was intended to provide separate accommodation for the King and his family during services. It occupies five bays in the three back aisles and is covered by 15 domes. In place of the usual fluted stone columns, massive octagonal stone piers were used to carry the heavy weight of the stone floor of the *Takht*, and, above these, come fluted pillars that support the arches that carry the domes. With the few adjacent bays in the south and east this is the only portion of the mosque that still retains its roof. The domes most probably owe their safety to the massive pillars of the lower storey which gave extra stability to the arches above them, while at the same time they offered no temptation to the spoiler to carry them off. The ten-foot stone shafts in the rest of the cloisters were not difficult to remove and, in consequence, several scores of them have disappeared. There are three prayer niches in the west wall of the *Takht* which are surrounded with beautiful ornamental *Tughra* inscriptions and with fine carvings all over the surface. Over the entrance to the chamber of Sikandar Shah, there is also an inscription in *Tughra* character which contains the *Kalimah Shahādat* (Confession of Faith of a Muslim).

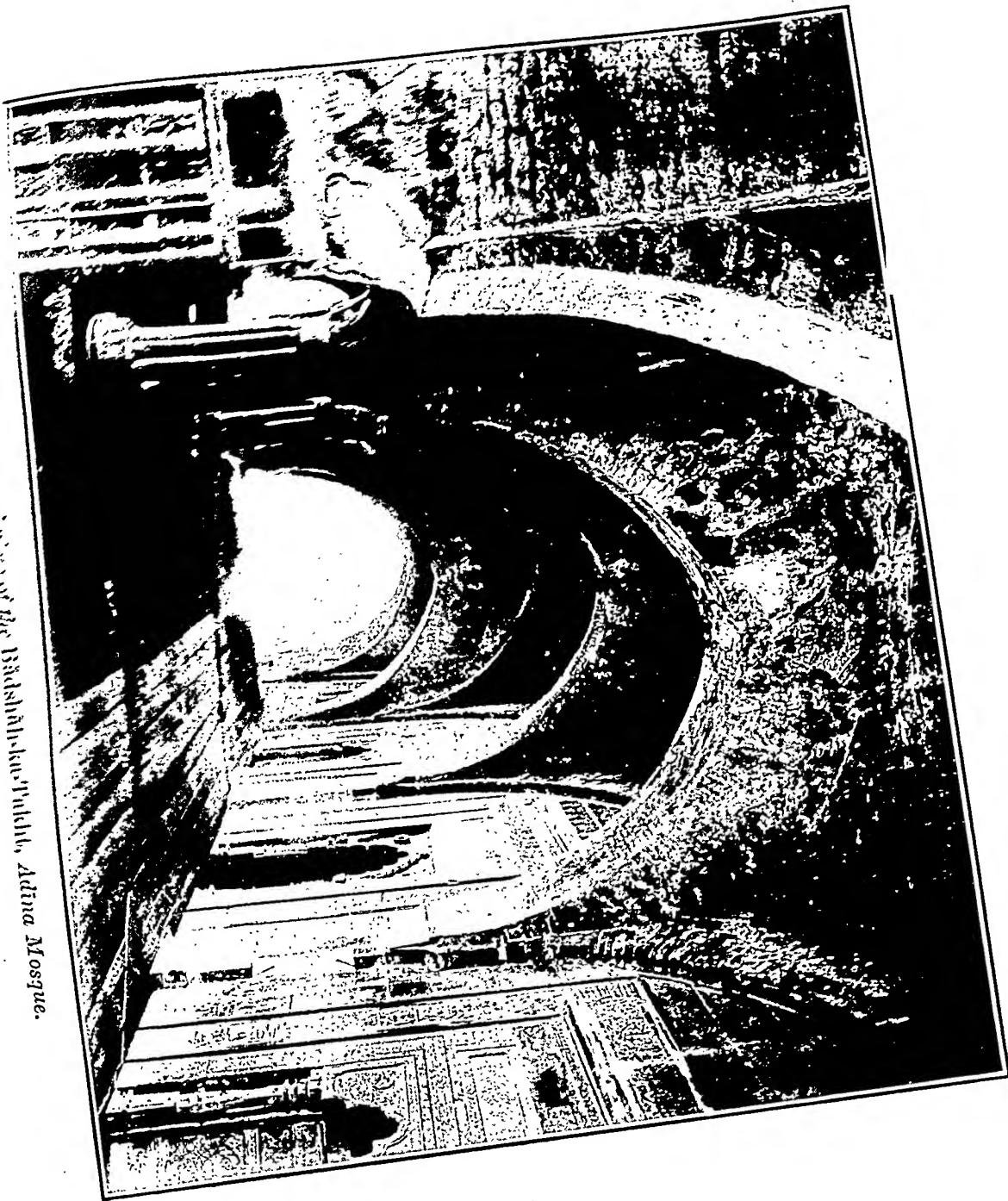
The reading and translation of the inscriptions on the west wall of the *Bādshāh-ka-Takht* are given below. The first is taken from the *Āyat-u-l-Kursī* (Throne Verses) chapter of the *Qur'ān* and as it is the same as the first few lines of the inscription over the gate of the enclosure of 'Alāul Haqq's tomb (*vide* pp. 109-10) it need not be repeated here. The rest are also from the *Qur'ān* and run as follows:—

إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ
وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا *

Translation.—"Verily Allāh and His angels bless the Prophet. Bless ye him, O Believers, and salute him with salutations of Peace." (*Sūrah XXXIII*, verse 56.)

لَقَدْ صَدَّقَ اللَّهُ رَسُولَهُ الْوَيْلَ بِالْحَقِّ لَنُدْخِلَنَّهُ الْمَسْجِدَ الْحَرَامَ إِذْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ
أَمَنِينَ مَخْلُقِينَ رُءُوسَكُمْ وَمَقْصُرِينَ لَا تَخَافُونَ فَعَلِمَ مَا لَمْ تَعْلَمُوا
فَجَعَلَ مِنْ دُونِ ذَلِكَ فَتْحًا قَرِيبًا - هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ

Interior view of the Badshahi-Masjid, Agra Mosque.



الحق ليظهره على الدين كله و كفى بالله شهيدا - محمد رسول الله و الذين
معه اشداء على الكفار رحماء بينهم تراهم ركعاً سجداً يبتغون فضلاً من الله

و رضواناً ○

Translation.—"Now hath Allāh in truth verified unto his Apostle the vision wherein He said, 'Ye shall surely enter the Sacred Mosque (of Mecca) if Allāh please, in full security, having your heads shaved, and your hair cut: ye shall not fear: for Allāh knoweth that which ye know not, and He hath appointed for you, besides this, a speedy victory.' It is He who hath sent His Apostle with 'the Guidance' and the religion of truth; that He may exalt the same above every religion: and Allāh is a sufficient witness hereof. Muhammad is the Apostle of Allāh: and those who are with him are most vehement against unbelievers but full of tenderness among themselves. Thou mayest see them bowing down, prostrating themselves, imploring favours from Allāh and His good pleasure." (*Sūrah XLVIII*, verses 27-29.)

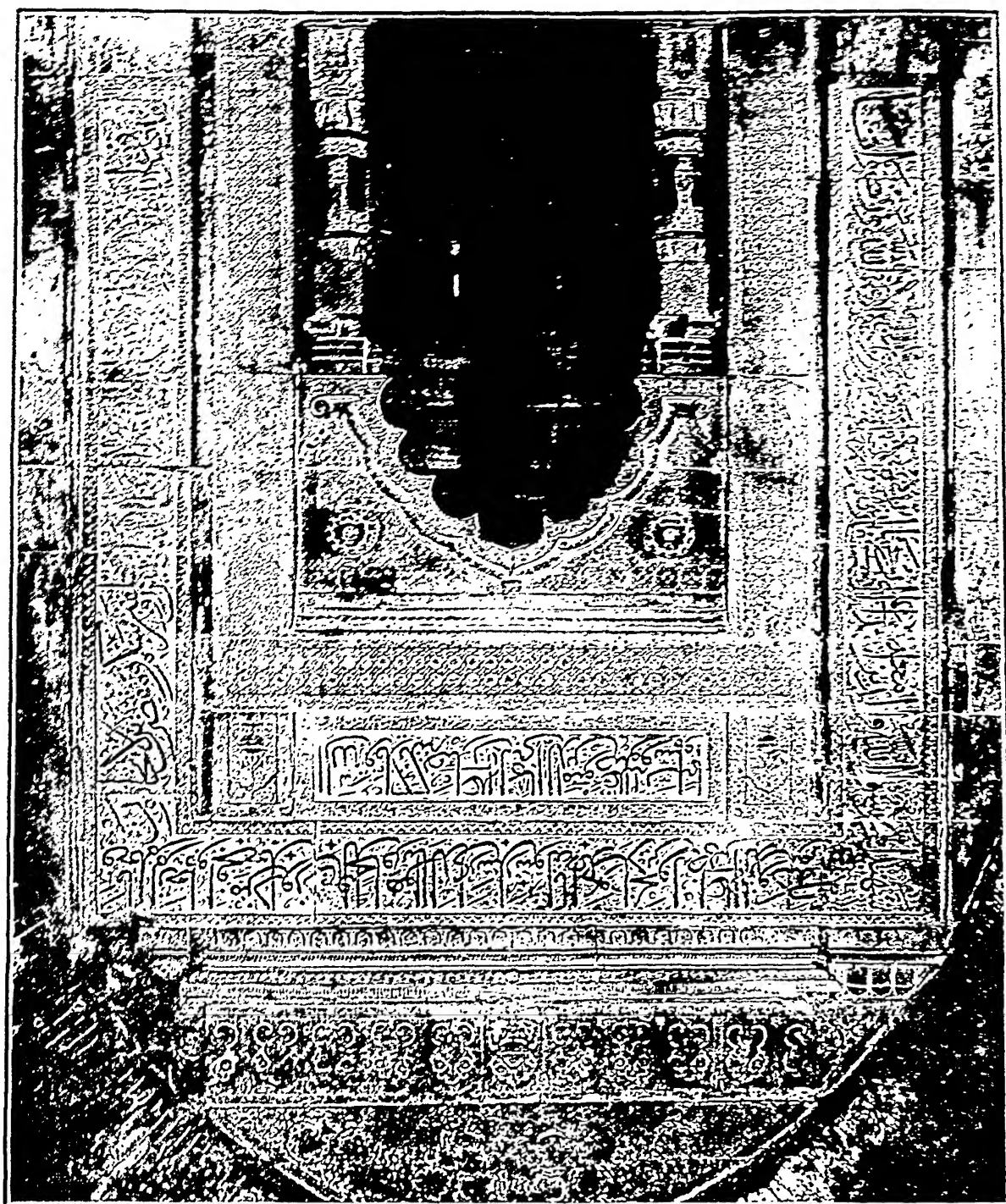
قُلْ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَزَّ وَجَلَّ نَزَلَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ - اِعِزَّنِي اللَّهُ مِنَ
الشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ - اِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ - بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ -
الَّذِينَ اٰمَنُوا وَ هَاجَرُوا وَ جَاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِاَمْوَالِهِمْ وَ اَنْفُسِهِمْ اَعْظَمَ
دَرَجَةً عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَ اَرْكَلُكَ هُمْ الْفَائِزُونَ - يَبْشِرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ وَ رِضْوَانًا
وَ جَنَّاتٍ لَّهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ مُّقِيمٌ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا اَبَدًا اِنَّ اللَّهَ عِنْدَهُ اَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ *

Translation.—"Allāh the Great, greater than any Sayer and nobler than any Speaker, saith: Seek refuge with Allāh from the cursed Satan. Surely Allāh is He who hears most and knows best. In the name of Allāh, the Clement, the Merciful. They who have believed, and fled from their homes, and striven with their substance and with their persons on the path of Allāh, are of the highest rank with Allāh: and these are they who shall enjoy felicity (*Sūrah IX*, verse 20). Their Lord, by His mercy and pleasure assures Paradise to them; therein they will abide in plenty for ever and in perpetuity. Verily with Allāh is great recompense."

Object in providing the Bādshāh-ka-Takht.

It is idle to deny that the *Bādshāh-ka-Takht* was used only by the King and his entourage. The very name shows this to have been the case. Such

Fig. 26.—Detail of Mirror of the Bodeenah-ka-Takht, Adra Mirghe.



a structure is, however, quite out of place in a mosque for Islāmic worship, for Islām is one of the most democratic religions of the world and such an invidious distinction in a place of worship is almost inconceivable. It is noteworthy that there is no such thing as a *Bādshāh-ka-Takht*, or Royal Seat, in any Indian mosque outside of Bengal. One explanation for this anomaly may be that the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, living as they did in absolute ease and prosperity, soon forgot the simple habits of their ancestors and grew supercilious, looking down upon their subjects, who no doubt were their inferiors in the eyes of men, though none the less their equals in the eyes of Almighty God. It is these Kings who may have introduced into mosques this unauthorized distinction, somewhat in conformity to the practice of precedence observed in state ceremonials. On the other hand, another, and perhaps more reasonable, explanation is that this reserved place was for the use of the Royal Family where the ladies of the *harem* used to say their prayers, the seclusion being necessary for the *Zenāna* ladies who observed strict *pardah*. Such a ladies' gallery is also to be found in the Bārādwārī Mosque, the Tāntī-pārā Mosque, and the Small Golden Mosque in Gaur, and shows the solicitude of the Kings of Bengal towards the women of their household.

The late Dr. T. Bloch wrote as follows on the subject: "I may mention in passing that this peculiar custom among the Muhammadans of Bengal, of allowing their wives and daughters to attend Divine Service in the mosque, is interesting also, in so far as it affords to us an illustration of the great respect shown by them towards the weaker sex. I can hardly imagine this to have been an innate quality of the wild Tartar soldiers, who swept over Bengal towards the close of the 12th century A.D., under the command of Bakhtiyār Khaljī. It is quite evident, that this General did not intend to conquer Bengal merely for the sake of this "Paradise on earth" (*jannatul-bilad*), as Bengal, at that time, used to be called in India. His aims stretched very much further. The unsuccessful expedition to China, which he undertook shortly after his conquest of Lakhnauti, and which came to a miserable end in the Dooars, or the lower ranges of Himalaya, proves quite clearly the real object which Bakhtiyār Khaljī had in view. Bengal was to be merely a stepping stone on the way to China. But his plans utterly failed, and likewise similar plans, fostered by some of his successors. Those Tartar hordes had to remain contented with the possession of Bengal, and we cannot, I think, wonder at their wild manners having become a little more civilized in Bengal."

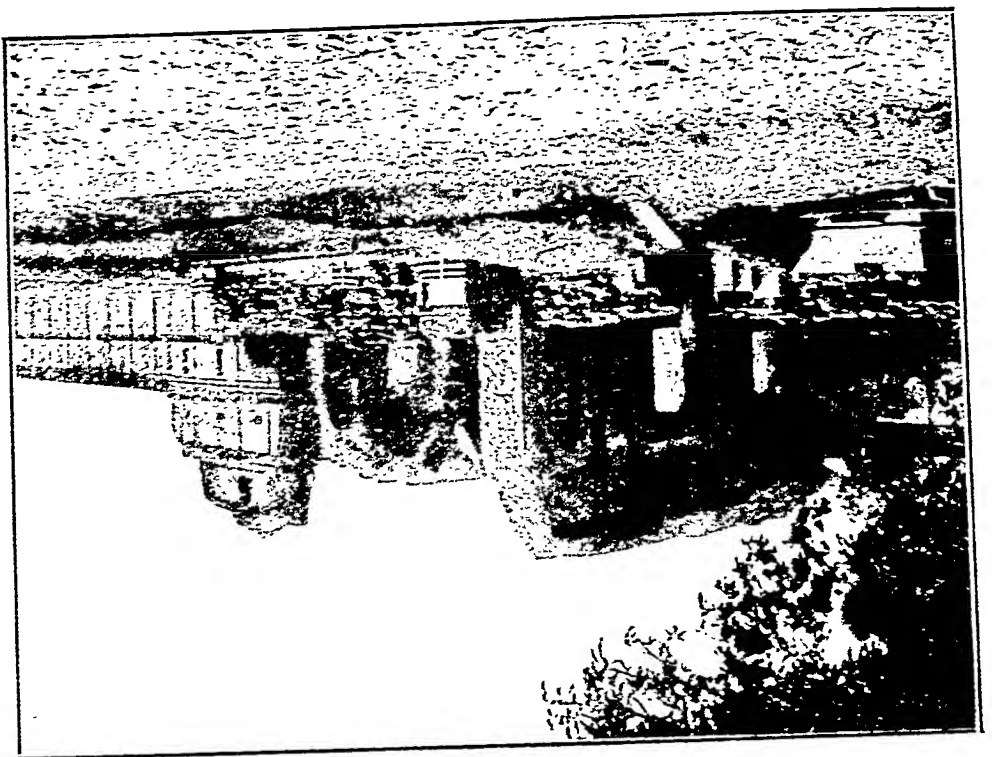
Chamber of Sikandar Shah.

As already noted, to the west of the *Bādshāh-ka-Takht* lies a roofless room, 42 feet square, known as Sikandar's Chamber. There is a tradition amongst the local people that Sikandar was buried in this chamber after his defeat and death, but unfortunately the ten-domed roof fell in, and much débris collected over the tomb. When this was ultimately removed, the remains of the King's tomb was cleared away by the coolies along with

[illegible]

Sikandar Shah's inscription on the back of the building.

Fig. 29.—Silkandar's Chamber: West side of the Adina Mosque.



Translation.—"This *Jāmi* Masjid was ordered to be built in the days of the reign of the great Sultān, the Wisest, the most Just, the most Liberal and most Perfect of the Sultāns of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abūl Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, the Sultān, son of Ilyās Shāh, the Sultān. May his reign be continued till the Day of Promise (i.e., Resurrection) ! Written on the 6th of *Rajab* of the year 770 A.H." (14th February 1369 A.D.).

It is said that Sultān Sikandar himself wrote the inscription.

Account of the Adina Mosque, and the death of Sikandar Shah, by the author of the Riyāzu-s-Salātīn.

"In the year 766 A.H., Sikandar commenced to build the Adina Mosque ; but before he could finish it death overtook him, and the building remained half completed. It is, indeed, a fine mosque and an enormous sum must have been expended on its erection. May Sikandar's efforts be thankfully remembered !" According to the same author Sikandar Shah died, after a reign of nine years and some months¹, of the wounds which he had received in the field of Goālpārā, fighting with his favourite and youngest son Ghiyāsuddīn whom the machinations of a jealous step-mother had driven to rebellion. Ghiyāsuddīn marched with a large army from Sunārgāon, while his father advanced from Pandua with an even larger force. They met on the field of Goālpārā where both parties engaged in a deadly battle, in the course of which Sikandar Shah was slain.

¹ Sikandar reigned for much longer than nine years as coins struck by him are found dated between 758 and 792 A.H. (1358-89 A.D.). These coins are very beautifully executed and mark the zenith of the mint masters' art in Bengal. According to Dr. Wise (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, p. 85) Goālpārā was near Ja'farganj on the western boundary of the present Dacca district (opposite Goalundo) : but in view of the practical certainty that Sikandar was buried at Pandua, it seems more probable that the battle took place in the immediate vicinity of his capital. There is a village called Goālpārā a mile or so north of the old southern gate of Pandua and about 3 miles south-west of the Adina Mosque ; but a more probable site for the battle is the one apparently referred to by Buchanan Hamilton (on page 23 of his *Dinājpur*), viz., the Goālpārā (alias Fuldāngī, Rāniganj, or Rānigarh) on the Tangan River, 8 miles south-west of Bāmangolā. An old *Bādshāhī* road (which is said to run from Natore in the east to Gaur, or Rājmahal, in the west, and which—immediately east of the Tangan—forms the boundary between the Habipūr and Bāmangolā *thānas*) crosses the river at Rānigarh near what appears to have been a fortified bridge-head. There is no river called Chattera in the vicinity, but the name Satra or Chattera mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton as the site of the battle is still found in the Chatra *bil* which lies immediately to the north of the bridge head. Maulvi Najmul Husain (to whom I am indebted for this information) also informs me that 3 miles east of Rānigarh on the *Bādshāhī* road, and opposite to a large E × W tank, is a third village called Goālpārā or Goārpūrā ; while 4 miles south of this is another village bearing the name Chatra. —H. E. S.

6. THE 'PALACE' AREA.¹

A short distance to the south-east of the Adina Mosque an embanked area of ground is to be found which, local tradition states, was the site of the Palace of Sikandar Shah. As will be seen later, this however probably dates back, in Muhammadan times, to at least the reign of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah (1339-1358 A.D.), while there are also clear indications that the area in question (as well as that further to the north and north-east) was the headquarters of Hindu sovereignty—possibly from a very early period. The site was first described in 1808 by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, and his vivid account will now be quoted from his *Description of Dinajpur* (*ed. cit.*, pp. 47 and 48) by way of introduction to what is, historically, the most important area of the ancient city of Pandua.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's Description.

“About a mile east from Adinah is a ruin called the Satasguri, or sixty towers, which is said to have been the palace of the king. On penetrating the woods and reaching this place, I was much disappointed, as except the high name, I could find nothing worthy of a royal residence. The remains consist of a tank about 120 yards in length and 80 in breadth. The bank formed by throwing out the earth has been surrounded by a brick wall, in one place entire, and 16 feet high. This wall seems to have included many buildings, which from the bulk of the ruins, seem to have been most considerable at the two ends. At the N. W. corner is a small building, which contains an arched chamber in the centre, communicating with several smaller ones, by which it is surrounded. These communicate only with the central room, from whence there is a passage to an antichamber in front. Some appearance of pipes in the walls, and the general structure of the building, confirm the opinion of the natives that this was a bath. The north end of the tank seems to have been lined through the whole of its length by a narrow gallery, supported by arches, from whence stairs led down to the water, and within the gallery there appears to have been a row of small chambers; but these are now almost entirely choked with rubbish. At a little distance from the S. E. corner of the tank, and without the wall, is another ruin like that of the bath, which probably served for the same purpose. A cylindrical cavity, lined with brick, which descends from the top of the building to a considerable depth, and which is about 10 feet wide, served in all probability to give a

¹ In consequence of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Deputy Director-General of the Archaeological Department, having most courteously given me facilities to study the large scale air photographs which show almost every detail of the City of Pandua at its period of maximum expansion, it was possible in 1930 to make for the first time a thorough survey of the north-eastern portion of the city. The subjoined account of what was then seen *in situ* is thus almost entirely new.—H. E. S.

supply of water. Very few stones have been employed in these buildings and such as have been used are quite plain. Two large blocks of uncut gray granite are lying on the surface of the ruins. Some of the bricks are coated with green enamel.

"About half way between Adinah and Satasgurh is an earthen rampart, with a ditch on its west side, which probably is part of a fortification that may have surrounded the palace.

"The tank at Satasgurh has its greatest length extending from north to south, and therefore has undoubtedly been the work of a Hindu; and in fact both Hindus and Muhammadans agree in attributing its construction to a Pandu Raja, who lived a long time ago and communicated his name to the place. He is very remarkable as having been the father of Yudhisthir, who, according to legend, was sovereign of India in the commencement of this age, about 5000 years ago. The country then belonged to Virat, one of the adherents of the family of Pandu, and according to tradition, this part was under the immediate management of a certain Kichok, to whose sister Virat was married. It is possible, that during some rebellion, or disputed succession, Pandu may have been compelled to retire from Hustinapur, and to take refuge in a friendly territory. Peruya, it must be observed, is a corrupt vulgar name, and the true appellation of the city is said to be Panduya or Pandoviya."

A. Dhanush Dighī, and Minār.

Turning now to the present condition of the ruins and tanks found in the 'Palace' area—the extent of which (as estimated from the Air Survey photographs) is roughly speaking 1,430 yards from west to east, and 1,210 yards from north to south, exclusive of the square bastion (about 600 × 600 yards) at the south-east corner formed by the *Nāsir Shāh Dighī*, with its embankments—the first object of interest that is to be seen when proceeding south-east from the Adina Mosque is the *Dhanush Dighī*, a large N × S tank about 465 yards long by 105 yards broad which constitutes the north-western portion of the Palace enclosure. It is now almost silted up. Near the south-east corner of this tank stands a tower called the *Minār* which may have formed one of the two towers of a Western Gate. The raised area in the immediate vicinity of the *Minār* seems to merit excavation in order to discover whether there was actually a gate here, or only a mosque from the *Minār* of which the *Muazzin* called the Faithful to prayer.

B. The Satā'isghara Dighī; and site of Sikandar Shah's Palace.

A little over a quarter of a mile east of the southern end of the *Dhanush Dighī* and approximately in the centre of the main enclosure is to be found the *Satā'isghara Dighī*, which measures about 200 yards from North to South and 100 yards from West to East. It is however enclosed in a much larger raised area, about 550 yards from North to South by 165 yards, which, as already stated, is the reputed site of the palace of Sultān Sikandar Shah.

The buildings mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton as being on the north-west corner of the Tank were revisited by Cunningham in 1880 and he agreed that they represent the Turkish Baths of the Palace. The octagonal room, 24 feet in diameter, with a small room on each of the eight sides, as well as some of the adjacent masonry bathing cabins on the actual bank of the tank, can still be traced, but unless some conservation is done, they will soon entirely disappear. The Baths are possibly those built by Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah in imitation of the *Hauz-i-Shamsi* of Delhi—the construction of which by the Bengal King was one of the reasons why Ritriz Shah of Delhi invaded Bengal in 1354. The name of the building, according to the local people, is certainly *Sata'isghara* and not, as Buchanan Hamilton states, *Satasgurih*, but no one can say what exactly *ghara* means. Possibly however it may refer to there having been twenty-seven rooms in the Baths, or that the Palace comprised twenty-seven separate houses. The raised area round the tank, especially that to the north and south, would appear to be well worth excavating by the Archaeological Survey.

C. Pandap Raja Dātan.

A little to the south-east of the south-east corner of the *Sata'isghara* Tank is another and much better preserved Turkish Bath which is situated to the west of a small but very deep round pond—the latter being said to have a pavilion in the centre which becomes visible in the dry season. The local people call the building *Pandap Raja Dātan*, which is particularly interesting as confirming the local story given to Buchanan Hamilton over 120 years ago that Pandua owed its foundation and name to a Raja belonging to the Pandava family of Old Delhi who came to, and remained in, Bengal for sufficient time to found a new city there. In the 'sixties of the last century Ravenshaw also (on p. 67 of his *Gaur*) mentions that, according to current local tradition, the *Sata'isghara* tank was the work of Arjūn of the race of Pandu. The actual building appears, however, to be much more recent than the *Sata'isghara* itself, and as it is undergoing the same process of destruction (from trees growing on it) which has already befallen the greater part of the last-named building, it is most desirable that immediate steps should be taken by the Archaeological Department to put it in a proper state of repair—in particular, to have the mosaics over the arches in two or three of the rooms preserved. When this is done, it is likely to be an even more attractive place of pilgrimage to visitors than the Adina Mosque.

The circular room, or well, at the south-east corner of the building is now filled almost to ground level with stones and other debris, but the local people (by whom it is known as *Jiban Kund* or 'Well of Life' from its reputed property of restoring the dead to life) say that it held water up to the time of the great earthquake—presumably that of 1897. If cleared out, it might yield some objects of archaeological interest: and, at the time of effecting repairs, investigations might also be made regarding the alleged masonry building in the middle of the adjoining pond.

D. *Āt-Bāgh* (or *Rāhat-Bank*) *Dighī*.

Proceeding a little further over rough ground to the east, the visitor will arrive at a long and very deep $N \times S$ tank (now being rapidly silted up), the water surface of which measures about 500×175 yards. The present name appears to be *Āt-Bāgh Dighī* or 'Eight Tiger Tank', but another name may also be *Rāhat-Bank Dighī*. The 'oldest inhabitant', however, claimed that the latter is the real name of the small pond near the *Pāndap Rājū Dālān*, the name—'Tank of the Reposeful Curve'—in each case referring to the bend round an island (or pavilion). This tank is said to have had two towers in the water—one near each end—and the northern one (now a peninsula of brick ruins) is still connected with the western bank by an earthen ridge to which access from the side was given by a flight of brick steps. Immediately opposite this *ghāt*, to the west, is a small $N \times S$ tank with remains of a stone *ghāt* on the south, which has the curious name *Koibūtki Pukkur*. The towers in the *Āt-Bāgh Dighī* are said to have been connected by a subterranean passage under the tank, and, before they fell in, some weapons are said to have been found in the southern tower. A short distance to the east of the northern portion of the *Āt-Bāgh Dighī* is a small round tank called *Purān* ('Old') *Dighī*. This is only mentioned as one of the local people gave the name *Prān* ('Life') *Dighī* to the *Āt-Bāgh Dighī*, which caused some confusion until the 'oldest inhabitant' corrected the pronunciation and pointed out the mistake in the location of the tank.

E. *Nāsir Shāh Dighī*.

Owing probably to the jungle that, until comparatively recently—when Sontals began to be employed to clear it away—covered the 'Palace' area, this magnificent tank was not apparently visited by either Buchanan Hamilton, Ravenshaw, or Cunningham, and *Ilāhī Bakhsh* confuses it with the *Salā'isghara Dighī*. It is certainly the best preserved of all the tanks that lie within the fortified area of 25 square miles that Pandua occupied when it was at its greatest, but it appears to be later in date than the rest of the tanks in its immediate vicinity as it projects like a sort of bastion from what must have been once the south-east corner of the embanked area in this locality. It is a very deep $N \times S$ tank of absolutely clear water, and the actual area of water is about 360×250 yards. Its south-east extremity on the S. E. is about $1\frac{1}{3}$ miles from the *Adīna Mosque*.

Both its name and excellent state of preservation suggest that the *Nāsir Shāh Dighī* was excavated by *Nāsiruddīn Nasrat Shah*, the son of *Husain Shah* (1519-1532 A.D.). On the other hand, as no reference is found in the *Riyāz* to this King having ever lived at Pandua, it may go even further back to *Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd Shah* (1442-1459 A.D.) who was a descendant of *Ilyās*

The only rule of general area in the neighbourhood of the Palace is the one partially-destroyed by the Sultan, which is about 1000 yards long and 400 yards broad—H. N. 3.

For the earlier Hindu period of which no record is known, study of Patali history, not only during the period of the action would show, especially if the present state of the Palace area and its immediate vicinity—and also the entire site of Patali as described by the old writers—shows that the Archaeological Department should consider a careful survey of the In view of the fact discovered that there is some doubt as to the Palace of Hyas Shah. was considered would certainly have been removed the appearance of any trace of this is only natural as the materials of which it Dandana marks the site of the old of the Hindu temple. The the conjunction of the site of a fort with the great wall suggests that Dandana. No traces of a fort now appear to exist in the vicinity but another Maurya (No. 100) called Dandana in an extensive name of which is to the fortified gate: but a short distance to the west and north is found Garhwar. The name of the maurya—Garhwar—may well refer beyond, and includes the northern gate of Patali. Beyond this part of Maurya Burjpur (Revenue Survey No. 100) which extends northwards the size of the Nasir Shah Dighi. The Nasir Shah Dighi is in the southern in length by 275 yards in breadth, and must have been nearly twice dried up NKS tank called Sukan Dighi. This measures about 500 yards broader belt of raised land which forms the southern half of an enormous surrounds the 'Palace' area of the Muhammadan city is smaller and still immediately to the north of the northern side of the establishment that

F. Sukan Dighi (Dried up Tank): Burjpur, Maurya: and Dandana (H. N. 100).

the history of Muhammad Shah than that of Nasir Shah. time of a King who had little fear of any rival, which would agree more with the Nasir Shah Dighi shows that it can only have been excavated in a Raja Kans. The fact that there are no emplacements to the south-east of latter building had fallen into ruins during the usurpation of the House of believed, this was the site of the Palace of his ancestor Hyas Shah and if the Shah to have desired to live in close proximity to the *Satishghara* it, as is preservation for 470 years, it would be only natural for Nasiruddin Mahmud is difficult to understand how the tank could remain in such a perfect state of kitchen of Nur Qutub Alam's shrine was erected by Izzat Khan. Though it Shah, and in whose reign—possibly in the last year—the inscription in the

CHAPTER IV.

Other places of interest in the vicinity of Gaur and Pandua.

1.—OLD MĀLDAH.

THE town of Old Māldah is situated on the eastern bank of the Mahānandā river, opposite its junction with the Kālindrī river. It is about 13 miles to the north of the Citadel of Gaur and four miles from the civil station of English Bāzār. The surrounding ruins show the former extent of the old town which may have first risen to prosperity as a port of the Muhammadan capital of Pandua.¹ As the Kālindrī was formerly an important branch of the Ganges, the situation of Old Māldah was a very happy one. It had a high-walled *Katrā*, or fortified *Caravansarāi*, for the better protection of valuable goods, and was evidently of considerable importance during the rule of the Husainī Kings. No less than 9 inscriptions bearing the names of Kings of this dynasty and ranging in date from 899 to 938 A.H. (1493-1531 A.D.) have been found within the boundaries of the old town; but the town must have begun to flourish still earlier, if the inscription now over the enclosure door of Shāh Gadā's shrine near the *Katrā* really belongs to the place; for this inscription records the erection of a mosque by one Hilāl in the reign of Nāsirud-dīn Mahmūd Shah I, and is dated 19th *Sha'bān* 859 A.H. (4th August 1455 A.D.). In Akbar's time Māldah continued to be an important centre, being mentioned in the *Akbarnāma*; while, in the *Ā'in*, the environs of Māldah include 11 mahals, out of the total of 66 which comprised *Sarkār Jannātābād*.

Manufactures.

Old Māldah had not only a great retail trade, but was also probably a large centre of silk and cotton manufactures from very early times. In a work written shortly after 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.), it is said: "Sher Khān gave to Shaikh Khalīl money, rich clothes, and manufactures of Mālda and Bengal in enormous quantities." (*Vide the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* of Abbās Khān Sarwānī, Elliot, Chapter IV, p. 372). The letters of the English Agents at Patna in 1620 and 1621 A.D., mention "*doupattas* (sheets) of Mālda" and "a few Mālda wares for patterns for Persia." Quilted *Sūznī* were produced extensively at Old Māldah embroidered with artistic needle-work, mostly done by women: but the trade is now dying for want of support. Silk cloths (*Katān*, *Sirāja*, *Bulbul Chashm*, etc.) are, however, still manufactured at Shāhpūr

¹The discovery of a gold coin—now in my cabinet—of the Kushān King Vāsudeva (c. 200 A.D.) at (? Old) Māldah in 1888 suggests however that the place was a centre of trade far back into even Hindu times. The coin in question is similar to that reproduced by Vincent Smith as No. 8, Plate XIII of his *Indian Museum Catalogue*. —H. E. S.

—a village 5 miles south of Old Maldah—and exported to the Persian Gulf. Up till 1770, when the Factory was transferred to English Bazar, Old Maldah was the East India Company's local centre of trade in cotton and silk. The French and Dutch also had factories at Old Maldah.

Names of the ancient Divisions of the Town.

The names of the ancient divisions of Old Maldah arranged in their order from north to south are : Khidīrpūr*, Porātūlī*, Dhobāpārā, Mokātipūr, Shekhpārā*, Bānshāttā*, Phulbārī, Patnūtōlā, Shūrīpārā, Sākmohān, Firzūpūr, Gāhīndārītōlā, Gōālītūlī, Tārāpūr, Upar Savārī, Khod Savārī, Savārī, (Chorābārā*, Kayētpārā*, Kāhārītōlā, Tūtbarī, Kūtītītōlā, Tel Mūndāī, Rukānpūr*, Kātrā, Mughālītūlī*, Bīrojpārā [Berozgar-tōlā]*, Hātīsālā*, Chālīsāpārā, Kāzīdārā. (A star indicates that the *patā* is no longer inhabited.)

In addition to these, the following *patās* lie to the south of the present Municipal boundary of Old Maldah :—

Bāchāmārī, Mohātūtī, Shāh Mūndāī.

Monuments of Old Maldah.

The important monuments of the town will now be described, taking them in order from north to south :—

1.—Sākmohān Mosque.

This is a small mosque in *mahallā* Sākmohān, on the left hand side of a bye-road leading northwards, and is said to have been built by one Shaikh Faqīr Muhammād, brother of Shaikh Bhikāh. Possibly because of this, the local people suggest that the name of the *Mahallā* should really be 'Shaikh Alahāī'. Over the entrance door to the enclosure there is a two-line inscription which is even more illegible than it was in Blochmann's time. Another over the door of the mosque itself, dates from the time of Yūsuf Shāh, and apparently runs as follows :—

قال الانبي صلي الله عليه وسلم نبى نبى
 في الخندق مائة * نبى نبى
 سلطان الله ملك الله السلطان شاه
 في الاسجد في الزمان * زمانه *
 هذا

Translation.—"The Prophet—May the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him!—said: 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build a similar palace for him in Paradise.' Under the order of the Sultān, Shamsudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh, son of Bārbak Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, the Sultān—May Allāh preserve his kingdom and rule!—this mosque was built on the 1st *Jumādī al-awwal* in the year 870 " A.H. (1465 A.D.).

The date, however, is doubtful, as Yūsuf Shah is not supposed to have come to the throne till 879 A.H.

B.—The Katrā, or Caravansarāi.

According to the *Riyāz*, this is considered to have been the place where the Tughlaqid King of Delhi Fīrūz Shāh III encamped in the cold weather of 1353-4 A.D., when he came to make war against the Bengal King Shamsuddīn Ilyās, but the *Katrā* does not happen to be situated in *Mahalla Fīrūzpūr* which lies half a mile distant towards the north of the town. This *Katrā*, or resting place for travellers, was formerly used as a place of safety for valuable merchandise landed there and intended for transmission to the Court of Pandua. The gateways of the *Katrā* were very strongly built and the arches

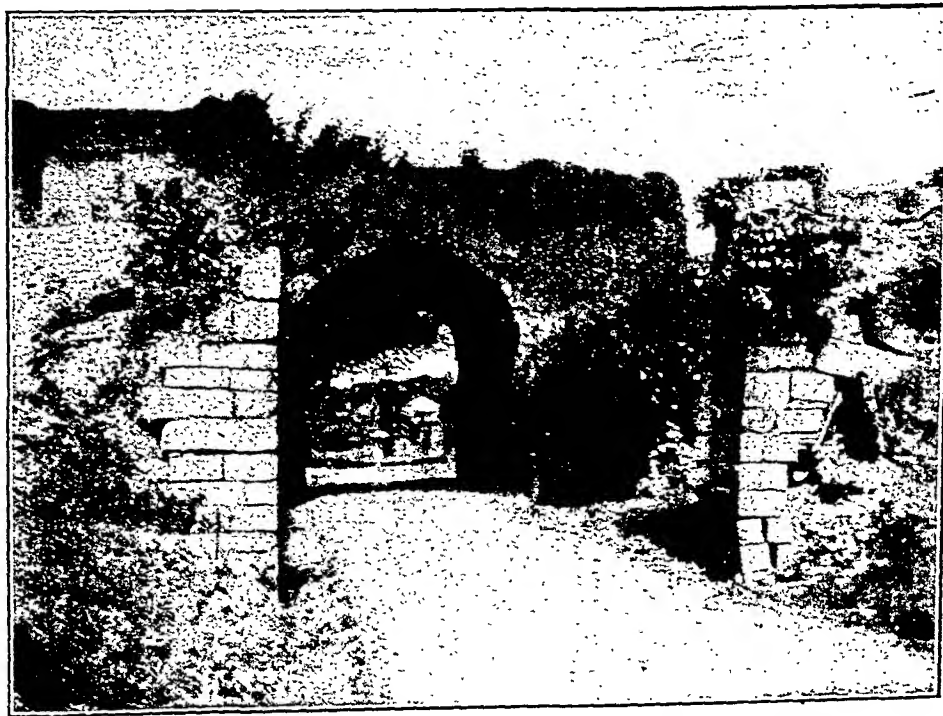


Fig. 30.—The Katrā, or Fortified Caravansarāi, Old Māldah.

are still standing. The rooms are, however, in a dilapidated condition. As the site is historically important and the workmanship of the gate and adjacent rooms is quite peculiar it would be a good thing if at least the northern and southern gates were restored at Government expense.

If the story given by Ravenshaw (*Gaur*, p. 44) is to be trusted, viz., that the *Kutub* was built by the brother of the man who built (or repaired) the adjacent *Jami' Masjid*, the present building dates from Akbar's time.

c.—The Shrine of Shah Gada.

This small building lies between the *Kutub* and the *Jami' Masjid* in Alugh-altit, and contains the grave of the Saint Shah Gada. There are four other graves in the courtyard in front of the building. The east one is said to have been the grave of the Saint's parrot which learned by heart extracts from the *Qur'an*: the next that of a *fakir* called *Mastan Langot-band*; the third that of a woman Darwish-i-Bibi (presumably the wife of Shah Gada) and the last one that of the midwife of Shah Gada. South of the shrine and within the enclosure there are five other graves, probably belonging to the *khadims* (servants) of the Shrine of Shah Gada. Opposite this building and across the road there is the grave of Dādā Pir. Superstitious Muhammadans pour offerings of milk to this Pir into the depression on the top of the grave.

There are two inscriptions attached to the shrine of Shah Gada, one over the door of the building itself and the other over the gate of the enclosure. The former was perhaps placed on the local *Jami' Masjid* when it was repaired (or built) in Husain Shah's time: the other records the building of a mosque by one Hīlāl, and, if *in situ*, may give some indication of the time when Shah Gada flourished. The inscriptions read as follows:—

الحمد لله الذي بنى هذه المسجداً
 على الأثر والسير في سنة السلطان
 الملك المظفر السلطان محمد بن
 الملك المظفر السلطان محمد بن
 الملك المظفر السلطان محمد بن

Translation.—"The Prophet—May the blessing and peace of Allah be on him!—said: 'He who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah will build for him a similar house in Paradise.' This *Jami' Mosque* was built by the Exalted and Liberal Sultan 'Alauddunyā waddīn Abūl Muẓaffar Husain Shāh the Sultan, son of Saiyid Ashraf al-Husaini—May Allah perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—in the year 911" A.H. (1505 A.D.).

¹ *Mastan* is said to mean 'Mad (with the love of Allah)' while *Langot-band* refers to the wearing by this special sect of *fajirs* of a tightly-bound loin cloth, as a mark of celibacy. Even at the present time there is a Pir called Mastan Shah living at Chitpur, Calcutta. Shah 'Gada' means the 'Beggar' Saint.—H. E. S.

II

قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ
فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْإِعْظَامِ نَاصِرِ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدٌ شَاهُ
السُّلْطَانِ بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ بِنْدِهِ دَرْگَاهُ هِلَالٌ * تَكْرِيرًا فِي النَّاسِعِ تَشْرِعٍ مِنْ
مَاهِ شَعْبَانَ عَمَّتْ مِيَامِنُهُ سَنَةٌ تَسَعُ وَخَمْسِينَ وَثَدَانِمَاءُ *

Translation.—"He upon whom be peace said: 'He who builds a mosque will have a palace built for him by Allāh in Paradise.' In the time of the great and exalted Sultān Nāsirudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh, the Sultān, this mosque was built by the slave of the *Dargāh*, Hilāl. Written on the 19th of the month of *Sha'bān*—May the blessings of this month be general!—of the year 859 " A.H. (4th August 1455 A.D.).

D.—The Phūtī Masjid, or Cracked Mosque.

East of the *Katrā* there is a mosque known as the *Phūtī Masjid*. The name seems to have been given by the local people when it was cracked by an earthquake. From the inscription—which is now missing—it appears that it was built by one Khān Mu'azzam Ulugh Sher Khān and the date is 20th *Shawwāl* 900 A.H. (14th July 1495 A.D.). South-east of this mosque is a tomb which is probably that of the builder. This mosque is rapidly falling into complete ruin, as both the main dome as well as one of the three verandah domes have collapsed. The inscription is given below:—

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ
قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ مِثْلَهُ * فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ بِتَائِيدِ الدِّينِ الْمُجَاهِدِ فِي
سَبِيلِ الرَّحْمَنِ خَلِيفَةِ اللَّهِ بِالْحِجَّةِ وَالدَّرْهَانِ عَلَاؤُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ
حُسَيْنِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَسُلْطَانُهُ بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ
خَانُ مُعْظَمِ الْغُ شِيرْ خَانُ فِي الْعِشْرِينَ مِنْ شَوَّالٍ سَنَةِ تِسْعِمِائَةٍ *

Translation.—"The Prophet—May the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him!—said: 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build for him a similar palace in Paradise.' In the reign of the Sultān, who is strengthened by the strength of the Requirer (Allāh), the striver in the way of the Merciful, Vicegerent of Allāh by proof and testimony, 'Alāuttduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shāh, the Sultān—May Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—this mosque was built by the Exalted Khān, Ulugh Sher Khān on the 20th *Shawwāl* in the year 900 A.H."

E.—The Jamī Masjid.

This mosque is a comparatively modern-looking building, built partly of carved brick and partly of stone; but if it is the Jamī Masjid referred to in the inscription now over Shah Gadi's shrine, it may go back to at least the time of the Husaini Kings. The mosque is 72 feet long by 27 feet wide; and it has two domes and one big arched vault. The two side chambers are 16 feet square and the central hall is 22 feet by 18 feet. There are eight minarets at

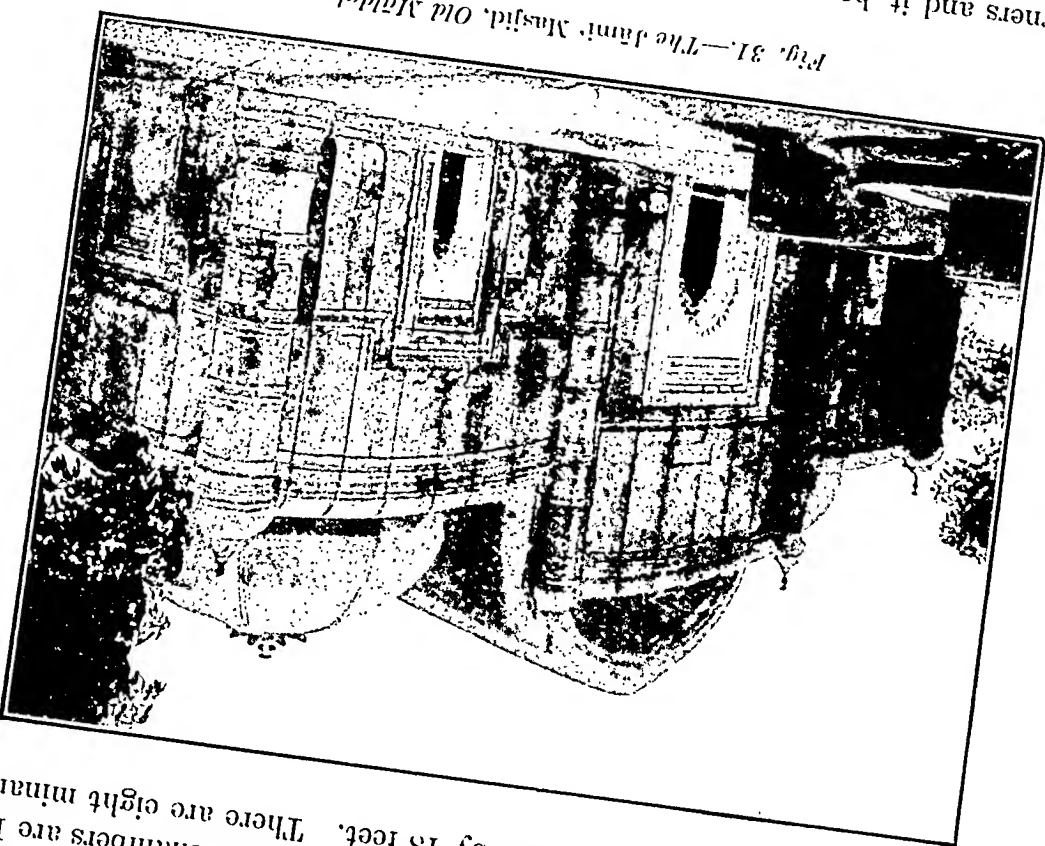


Fig. 31.—The Jamī Masjid, Old Malah.

its corners and it has a gateway in front. From the inscription over the doorway it would seem that the mosque was built (or repaired) in Akbar's time in 1004 A.H. (1596 A.D.). The reading and translation of the inscription are as follows:—

اے مسجد کا تعمیر کیا گیا ہے
اس کی بنیاد رکھی گئی ہے
اس کی تعمیر ہوئی ہے
اس کی تعمیر ہوئی ہے
اس کی تعمیر ہوئی ہے
اس کی تعمیر ہوئی ہے

"This place of worship became known in the world and was called in India by the name of Ka'aba. As it was the second Ka'aba, the date was disclosed from the invisible world (by the sentence) *Baitullah al-haram Ma'sum*." The numerical world (by the values of the individual letters of this phrase total 1004 which gives the *Hyra* year (or 1596 A.D.).

"The sacred and protected House of Allah." Ravenshaw states that the builder's name was Ma'sum; if so, it is indirectly mentioned in the chronogram of the date.—H. E. S.

There are stone lintels at the entrance gate of this mosque—evidently taken from Hindu buildings at Pandua or Gaur—which are finely carved in a very similar fashion to a stone lintel in the Calcutta Museum.

The arrangements that formerly existed for supplying water for ablution are also noteworthy. After water was drawn in buckets from the well in the compound it was poured into a reservoir just to the north of the well. This reservoir had 5 copper spouts on the northern side—possibly with taps or plugs—by which water could be supplied at will to the Faithful before *Namāz*.

On a bastion in the S. W. corner of the mosque courtyard there is a building (with the remains of a flight of stone steps leading up to it from outside) which is said to have been formerly used as a *Madrasah*; and possibly there was a corresponding room at the N. W. corner as well. Behind these, to the west of the mosque are two other enclosures which were used as graveyards. There are about fifty graves altogether. It is said that the graves of the male members of the builder's family are on the north-west side and those of the women members on the south-west side.

F.—Inscriptions at Chahāsapārā.¹

Two have been recorded from this part of Old Māldah which is less than a mile south of the *Katrā*. The first is to be found low down on the northern side of a small enclosure, situated on the western side of the road, and formerly included in Ralli Brothers' Jute Godown. The tomb, according to Ravenshaw, is called the *Dargāh* of the descendants of Sultān [Ibrāhīm] Adham Balkhī, and pottery figures of horsemen are offered at the tomb. The other is on one of five graves at a place a little further along the road and also on the western side of it, known as Saiyid Shah's *Dargāh*. The first records the building of a Mosque by one Majlis Rāhat in the year Husaīn Shah obtained the throne of Bengal by killing Muzaffar Shah: the second, the provision of a drinking-water shed by one Būyā (?) Māltī, who may be the same lady who erected the Jahāniyān mosque near Akhī Sirājuddīn's shrine at Gaur (*vide supra*, p. 93, and *infra*, p. 158). The inscriptions and their translations are as follows:—

I.

قل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له
قصرًا مثله في الجنة * بنى في عهد السلطان علاؤ الدنيا و الدين ابو
المظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنى هذا المسجد
مجلس راحت في العشر ذي القعدة من سنة تسع و تسعين و ثمانمائة *

¹ This and the next section have been added after a visit to Old Māldah, as the author did not apparently check what inscriptions were still to be found there. Most of this chapter in fact has had to be rewritten.—H. E. S.

899" (A.H. : 13th August, 1494).

هذه السقاية بنى
بالسحرة والسماء
جاء من الله تعالى
والله اعلم

* ۱۰۸۵ : ۱۰۸۶

Buwa Malti. In the year 938"—(A.H. . 1531-32 A.D.).

Proceeding south-west half a mile further from the *Kaṛu* the visitor will observe on the southern side of the road just beyond the hamlet of Bāḥa-māṛi, a raised platform containing 3 graves. The local people cannot say who are buried in those to the south and west, but the large grave to the N. E. is the burial place of Shah Ibrahim Shah Chaitan Lankapati. No one appears to know anything about this saint, who (from the name Chaitan—'conscious of God') may have been at first a Hindu : or what his connection with Lanka (Ceylon) was : but a history is said to be in the possession of Shah 'Abdul Aziz, disciple of Bābā Jarar Shah of *Daryāh* Hanif, Gonda District, United Provinces. At the northern end of the saint's grave is a slab inscribed with what appears to be a Tree of Life with interlaced branches, while at the other end is found the following inscription (which has no apparent connection with the saint as it only refers to the erection of a mosque).

زین الاسلامی (اعمالی المکرر) معنی ہے کہ جو کچھ اللہ تعالیٰ نے اپنے
 شاہ شمس حسن زین الاسلامی کے ذریعہ فرمایا ہے، اس پر ایمان لانا اور اس کی
 اطاعت کرنا، اور اللہ تعالیٰ کے حکام و احکام کی اطاعت کرنا، اس پر ایمان لانا
 اور اس کی اطاعت کرنا، اور اللہ تعالیٰ کے حکام و احکام کی اطاعت کرنا، اس پر ایمان لانا

Translation.—"The Gateway of this *Jāmi' Masjid* was built in the time of the Just Malik, the Sultān, son of the Sultān, Nāsirudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Nasrat Shāh, the Sultān, son of Husain Shāh, the Sultān—May Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and rule! Its builder was the Exalted Khān Khalf Khān, son of Majlis Qarā, in the year 935" (A.H. : 1528-29 A.D.).

Blochmann suggests that the builder of the mosque referred to was a Turk. A reproduction of the inscription will be found in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, Plate 56, No. 22.¹

H.—Para-Dhala Tank.

There is a tank of this name about a mile to the east of the Nīmasarāī (Old Māldah) Railway Station. It is also called the *Kūrbārī Dighī*. The following story which is prevalent here accounts for the former name, which means a tank into which mercury has been thrown :—

Once upon a time a merchant came to Old Māldah with mercury worth a lakh of rupees, and, finding no customer for his merchandise, began to complain of the apparent poverty of the place, saying that in vain had Māldah enjoyed a wide reputation for wealth, when not a single offer was made for his consignment of mercury. This was too much for a washer-woman who happened at that time to be plying her avocation by the side of the tank where the merchant was seated. Simply to vindicate the reputation of her native city, she at once ordered all the quicksilver to be thrown into the tank after giving the full price to the merchant². The merchant is also said to have built the magnificent *pacca ghāt* at Old Māldah with part of the proceeds of the sale.

The distance of the tank from Old Māldah is some evidence of the wide extent of the town in earlier times.

2.—THE TOWER OF NIMASARĀĪ.

This *minār* (tower) stands at the confluence of the Kālindrī and Mahānandā rivers, on the opposite side of the latter to Old Māldah, and is said to owe its name to the place being exactly halfway between Gaur and Pandua. The

¹The two inscriptions of Husain Shah (918 A.H. : 1512 A.D.) and Nasrat Shah (930 A.H. : 1524 A.D.) respectively that were recorded by Blochmann in 1874 (*J.A.S.B.*, pp. 305 and 307-8) from Molnātūli—a hamlet very close to Bāchāmārī—could not at first be traced as the mud hut in which they were discovered by Mr. E. V. Westmacott had been washed away by the Mahānandā. Later they were found lying in a small enclosure on the bank of the river, and should certainly be removed to some safer place. Mr. Westmacott seems to have been misinformed about the name of the *Pir* on whose grave they were formerly deposited. The local people (including a very old man, Hājī Jamiat Khān, who recollects the original mud hut) are certain that the name of the *Pir* was Sirājuddīn, and not Sultān Shihābuddīn, as stated by Mr. Westmacott.—H. E. S.

²In Eastern Bengal one method of purifying the water of a tank is to drop into it a section of bamboo containing Mercury.—H. E. S.

lower portion of the tower is still standing, and it is studded on the outside with stone projections resembling elephant's tasks. According to Ravenshaw this was an alarm tower on which fires were lighted in times of danger or invasion to give timely notice to the city of Gaur (or Pandua), while Mr. F. C. Fanshawe, B.C.S., considered it was a hunting tower which might probably

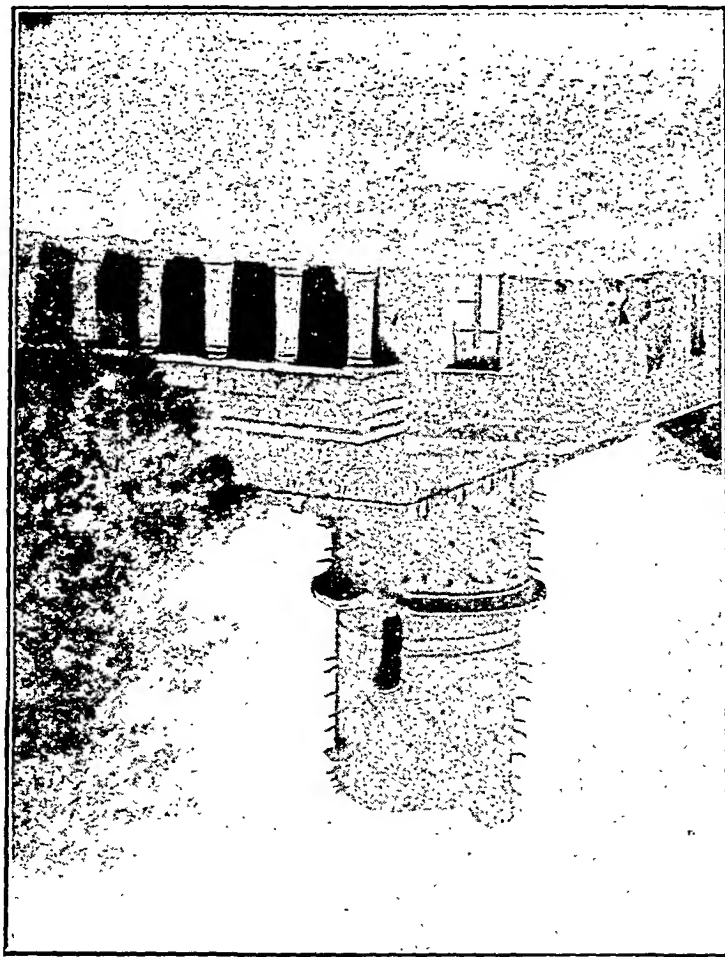


Fig. 32.—The Tower of Nimasara.

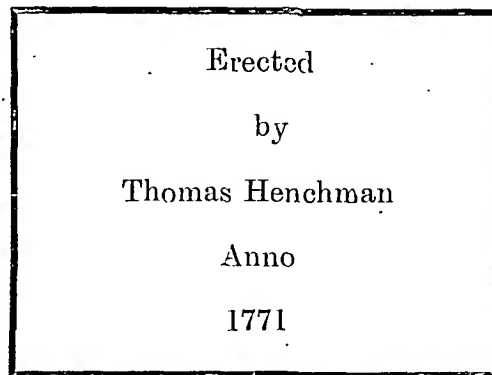
have also been used as a watch or signal tower. It is very similar in construction to Akbar's *Hiran Minar* at Rathpur Sikri and Dara Shikoh's *Minar* at Shikohpur near Lahore. The upper part of the *Minar* has fallen down; but the two lower storeys which remain standing are about 55 feet high. The circumference at the base being 58 feet 9 inches, the diameter is 18 feet 9 inches. The tower (which has now been declared a 'Protected Monument' and placed under the Archaeological Department) stands on an octagonal base, each face of which is also about 18 feet.¹

¹From the close similarity of its structure to that of the *Hiran Minar* at Rathpur Sikri, it appears likely that the Nimasara tower was erected in Akbar's time. The arched cells that may still be traced in each face of the base were possibly intended for the police in charge of the traffic across the junction of the two rivers.—H. E. S.

3.—ANGREZĀBĀD, OR ENGLISH BĀZĀR.

It will not be out of place here to add a few brief notes on English Bāzār, commonly called *Angrezābād*, the headquarters of the district.

From the title 'Maulda and Englesavade' of the 'Diaries and Consultations' of the East India Company from 1685 to 1693 (now preserved in the Library of the India Office, London), it is evident that the Company had already a station at English Bāzār during the latter half of the 17th century. The reason for this was probably the fact that this elevated site was found specially suitable for mulberry plantations and the production of raw silk. The factory at Old Māldah was given up about 1770, and a Commercial Residency established in its place at English Bāzār. The present Magistrate's Court is the old Residency building, and the Factory was protected by a high wall, with bastions at the corner, in which 8 cannon were located.¹ The date at which this fortified post was built and the name of the first Resident is given in the following inscription, which is now fixed on a pillar in the centre of the compound :—



The Residency was called by the people the Barī-Kothī, and here silk cloth was manufactured and collected for sending to Calcutta for exportation to other places beyond the seas. The cloth was also dyed in various colours, and some of it was embroidered with gold and silver thread. The residence of Mr. Lamb (the present Circuit House) was built, and the two tanks on the *maidān* dug, in 1825. An Indigo factory was also established in 1852 on the *maidān* south of the factory,² with houses close at hand for the officers to live in : but this indigo business was soon discontinued and the residence of the Manager, which was at the south-east corner of the *maidān*, made over to the Zilla School. This was first opened on Monday the 10th July 1858. The present charitable hospital, built in 1861, occupies the site where Munshī Ghulām Husain, author of the *Riyāzu-s-Salātīn*, formerly resided. The *Sadar* Middle Vernacular School was started in 1863, but was absorbed into the Zilla School in 1901.

¹ Two of them are still lying in front of the Circuit House.

² Other indigo factories had been constructed at Singhatulao, south-west of English Bāzār, in 1785 and 1845.

It is to be noted that Persian was the Court language of this district till the year 1834 when it was replaced by Bengali, and that the Maldah district itself was formed in the year 1813, out of the larger districts of Dinajpur, Rājshāhi and Purnea. The first Magistrate of the district was Mr. William Braddon.

Dutch Factory.

There is a tradition that the building a little south of the *Dak* Bungalow was the former Dutch Factory. There are old graves in the compound, in which members of a family called Mascarenhas were buried (Maria, d. 1813, aged 43 : Ambrozio José, d. 1799, aged 12 : and Antonio Custodio, d. 1795, aged 30).

Inscription of Husain Shah's time.

There is an inscription set up in an *Imāmbāra* in *machalla* Chak Ambia close to the writer's house bearing the date 913 A.H. (1507 A.D.). The builder of the mosque referred to may be the Wali Muhammad, Majlisul-Majālis Majlis Mansur, who erected the Small Golden Mosque at Firuzpur, Gaur (*vide supra*, p. 81). The text and translation of the inscription are given below :—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ : حَاجِى الْمَجَالِسِ مَجَالِسُ مَجَالِسُ وَجِي

تَسْمَعُ : تَسْمَعُ : تَسْمَعُ

Translation.—"This mosque was built by the Majlis-ul-Majālis, the excellent Majlis, in the year 913 of the *Hijra* of the Prophet."

Inscription on the Firuzpur Mosque.

There is another old inscription in *Tughra* character set up on the enclosure wall of a mosque north-west of the English Bazar police-station recording the construction of a *Madrasah* in the reign of Husain Shah, and dated 1st *Ramuzān* 907 A.H. (1502 A.D.). It was almost certainly brought from some *Madrasah* at Gaur, e.g., that at Darasbari (*supra*, p. 76), or at Beibari (p. 87). The text and translation of the inscription are given below :—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ : حَاجِى الْمَجَالِسِ مَجَالِسُ مَجَالِسُ وَجِي

تَسْمَعُ : تَسْمَعُ : تَسْمَعُ

السَّعَادَاتِ الْمَجَالِسِ وَجِي

الرحمن علاؤ الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسينى خلد
 الله ملكه لتدريس علوم الدين و تعليم احكام اليقين راجيا من الله اجر
 العظيم و سائلا هذه رغوانه القديم فى غرة شهر رمضان سنة سبع و تسعمائة *

Translation.—"The Prophet—May the blessing and peace of Allāh be on him!—said: 'Search after knowledge, even if it be in China.' This excellent *Madrasah* was ordered to be built by the Great and Supreme Sultān, the Saiyid of the Saiyids, the Source of Auspiciousness, who exerts himself in the way of Allāh the All-giver, the Conqueror of Kām̄rū and Kāmatah with the help of the Merciful, 'Alāudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shāh, the Sultān, al-Husainī—May Allāh perpetuate his kingdom!—for the teaching of the sciences of religion and for instruction in the principles which lead to certainty—in the hope of obtaining from Allāh the great reward, and begging from Him that He will ever remain pleased (with him) on the 1st of *Ramazān* 907 A.H." (10th March, 1502 A.D.).

Inscription on the Hyderpūr Mosque.

A third inscription of Husain Shah's time is to be found placed over the gate of a recently constructed mosque at Hyderpūr in the English Bāzār Municipality. The local story is that the slab was found lying on the ground in the house of one Ambikacharan Dās of the village Mīradal near the shrine of Akhī Sirājuddīn, known as Pīrān-i-Pīr. From this place it was removed and set up on the mosque by two Muhammadans of Hyderpūr. The inscription, given below, is so similar in its wording to that erected in the time of 'Alāuddīn's son, Nasrat Shah, at Chalisapārā (*vide supra*, p. 153) as to suggest that the builder of the *saqāyah* at the latter place must have seen this inscription at its original site, and copied it. Incidentally this also tends to confirm the identity of the 'Būyā' Mātī of Chalisapārā with the Bībī Mātī who built the mosque close to the tomb of Akhī Sirājuddīn.

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر مثلاً * بنى هذه السقاية
 السلطان المعظم المكرم علاؤ الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان
 بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطاه فى سنة عشر و تسعمائة *

Translation.—"Almighty Allāh said: 'For him who does a good deed, there will be a ten-fold (reward).' The Exalted and Liberal Sultān 'Alāudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shāh, the Sultān, son of Saiyid Ashraf

The mosque in question has three domes, and was built in 1208 A.H. (1794 A.D.) by one Musammat Phūndan of this quarter of the town. It has the following inscription on it, which is said to have been composed by Munshī Ghulām Husain, the author of the *Riyāz* :—

بنائے مسجد پہنندن خوش انجام * بدرر شاہ عالم یافت اتمام

۱۲۰۸ھ

سررش غیب گفتش سال تاریخ * برد کفر شد این دار اسلام

Translation.—“This mosque was built by Phūndan—May her end be happy!—and completed in the reign of Shāh ‘Ālam. Invisible angels spake the date of its erection *Burd kufr shud in Dār Islām*.” (‘Infidelity disappeared and this (town) became *Dār Islām*’). The letters of the chronogram total up to 1208.

Khairullāh’s Mosque.

Close to the mosque of Phūndan there is another mosque built by one Munshī Khairullāh, brother of ‘Atiqullāh, in 1258 A.H. (1842 A.D.). The inscription composed by Munshī ‘Abdul Karīm (a pupil of Munshī Ghulām Husain) for this mosque is given below :—

شیخ خیر اللہ مرد صاحب دین * ساخت مسجد ز روی صدق و یقین

ہاتف غیب گفت تاریخش * حبذا راہ راہ ر التاحسین

Translation.—“Shaikh Khairullāh, a religious man, built this mosque to show his sincerity and faith. Invisible angels spake its date *Habbazū wāh ! wāh ! wa-t-tahsīn* (‘Wāh ! Wāh ! Excellent and Beautiful’).”

Grave of Munshī Ghulām Husain.

Twenty yards east of Phūndan’s Mosque lies the grave of Munshī Ghulām Husain, Salīm, Zaidpūrī, the author of the *Riyāzu-s-Salātīn* (‘Gardens of the Sultāns’), which has been so constantly referred to in the present work. He wrote this History of Bengal in 1787-88 at the request of Mr. George Udney, Manager of the Silk Factory of the Hon’ble East India Company at English Bāzār, and the *Hijra* date in which he completed his book, viz., 1202 A.H., can be ascertained by adding up the numerical values of the Arabic letters forming the title of the work. The Munshī took considerable pains to ascertain the dates of the inscriptions that he found on the different buildings that still

survived from the times of the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, and he who had access to miscellaneous sources of history that have now disappeared. He was a native of Zaidpur in Oudh, and—as has already been stated—he had to have lived at the very place where the present charitable hospital now is. The Chronogram of his death composed by his pupil, Munsif Abdul Karim, is as follows:—* *وَلِدَ فِي* 'The Munsif left the world' (1233 A.H. ; 1818 A.D.).

The concluding sentences of Munsif Ghulam Husain's work may be quoted to show his opinion of those who had then but lately assumed the government of Bengal, and how broadminded his own philosophy was :

' The English among the Christians are adorned with the best of wisdom and skill, and ornamented with the garb of generosity and good manners. In resolution, activity in war and in fortitude, in administering justice and helping the oppressed, they are untroubled ; and their worship is so great, that they would not break a promise, should they even have this lives. They admit no bar to their society, are generous, faithful, gentle, and honourable. They have neither learnt the lessons of revenge nor know they read the page of vice : and notwithstanding their difference of creed, they do not interfere with the religion and rites of others, and the propagation of the Mohammedan faith.

وَلَدَ فِي ١٢٣٣ هـ
وَمَاتَ فِي ١٢٣٣ هـ

' All wrestling about faith and heresy leads to the same place : the human is one and the same flesh, though the interpretations may differ.'

Illustration on a Stone Pillar.

Never still to Muhammad's message or the east is to be won an insight or a stone tablet engraved in the graves of another world of *Al-Bihar*, *Al-Bihar* is a work of the late of *Al-Bihar*, *Al-Bihar*, *Al-Bihar* —

Tombs of Tūrkan-i-Shahīd or Ghorā Shahīd.

There is a grave in front of the Guru Training School, opposite to the Circuit House at English Bāzār, which is said by the local people to be the grave of a Turk who died a martyr. Close to it is a grave known as *Ghorā Pīr*. There are similar graves known as *Tūrkan-i-Shahīd* or *Ghorā Pīr*, one at Rathbārī (at the bend of the Rājmahal road, 1 mile from English Bāzār), and the other at Bāghbārī itself. They are now worshipped, and horses made of pottery are presented to these places. The local tradition is that these are the graves of some Turkish soldiers who came with Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār Khaljī and died in the subsequent fighting. This is not impossible, as it cannot be believed that the adherents of Lakhan Sen allowed Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār to conquer them without a struggle.

4.—BĀGHBĀRĪ, OR BALLĀLBĀRĪ.

Bāghbārī is probably one of the oldest portions of Gaur and is a heavily embanked quadrant, with sides each about 1 mile long, situated 2 or 3 miles north-west of English Bāzār on the right-hand side of the highway leading to Rājmahal. The enclosure is rather longer from north to south than from east to west and is formed by a gigantic embankment 50—60 feet in breadth at the top, 150 feet in breadth at the base, and 20 feet high. It is divided into two approximately equal halves by a N × S rampart with a broad ditch on the western side. The eastern half (which contains a large N × S tank called ‘*Tamna Dighī*’¹) is said to have been Ballāl Sen’s Palace, while the western half was the Fort. The southern boundary is formed by a section of the raised road from Lakhnaur to Devkot which Muhammadan historians state was begun by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār and completed by Ghiyāsuddīn ‘Iwaz in the first quarter of the 13th century (*vide* Chapter II, p. 19); while the ditch—75 feet wide—which both runs along the northern side of the road and surrounds the enclosure on the west, north and east, appears to have been served as a means of water communication roughly parallel to the Kālindrī—from the southern end of a great bend of the latter river at Sonatolā (south of Pīchhlī) to the Mahānandā close to the present site of English Bāzār. The local tradition is that Lakshman Sen escaped to Eastern Bengal by using this passage to the Mahānandā, possibly after being first driven out of Pīchhlī (*vide* next section) by the approach of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār from the Rājmahal direction. If this is correct, it rather suggests that the raised road leading from Western Bengal to Devkot was originally constructed by the Sen Kings (or even their predecessors the Pāls), and only improved by the Muhammadans. The existence on the Kālindrī River, about a mile north of Bāghbārī, of a village called Arāpūr (*alias* Amīrpūr)—the original name of which is said to have been Arhatpūr—

¹ This name is said to be a corruption of *Tarpan Dighī*, or a tank at which offerings were made to the souls of ancestors.—H. E. S.

برهانه ر ثقل بالحسنى ميزانه ر جدد العمارة فى ايام دولة السلطان
 الاعظم ناصر الدنيا ر الدين ابر المظفر محمود شاه السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين
 خلد الله ملكه ر سلطانه فى نوبة ايلات الملك المعظم جلال الحق ر الدين
 ملك ملوك الشرق مسعود شاه جاني برهان امير المؤمنين خلد الله دولته
 فى غرة محرم سنة سبع ر اربعين و ستمائة *

Translation.—"This blessed building was ordered to be built by the Exalted Sultān, Shamsudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Īltamish, the Sultān, the Right Hand of the *Khalīfah* of Allāh, the Assistant of the Lord of the Faithful—May Allāh illuminate his heart and may the scale of his balance on the day of Judgment be heavy with good deeds! The building was repaired in the reign of the Great Sultān Nasirudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh, the Sultān, the Assistant of the Lord of the Faithful—May Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—during the period of the Governorship of the Exalted King (*Malik*) Jalāl ul-Haqq wad Dīn, King of the Kings of the East, Mas'ūd Shāh Jānī, the Instrument of the Lord of the Faithful—May Allāh perpetuate his reign!—on the 1st day of *Muharram* in the year 647 A.H."

This date throws doubt on the usually accepted date of this Governor of Bengal under the suzerainty of the Slave King Nāsiruddīn of Delhi (644-64 A.H. : 1246-65 A.D.). Malik Jānī is only assigned a single year (656-57 A.H.) in even the most recently published lists of the rulers of Bengal, though it is possible, as General Cunningham remarks (*Report*, p. 171), that Ma'sūd might have been Governor twice—once at the time when this inscription was erected, and again in 656 A.H.

6.—GŪĀMĀLTĪ.

Gūāmāltī is about six miles south-west of English Bāzār and on the left-hand side of the present Kaliachak Road. Here was the residence of Mr. Henry Creighton, the well-known Manager of a flourishing indigo factory at this place from 1786 to 1807. He made a survey of Gaur, as well a number of water-colour drawings of the ruins, and was the first to start schools in the district in which the local children were instructed in their own language. Near this factory and to the east of it there was formerly a handsome mosque built of brick and stone, but only a decorated minaret still remains. Mr. Creighton collected here a good many carved stones and inscriptions from the ruins of Gaur, but they have now all been removed. Munshī Ilāhī Bakhsh in his *Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā* (Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 215) mentions the existence of an inscription at this mosque, bearing the name of Sultān [Ghiyāsuddin]

Bahādur Shah, and dated 711 A.H. (1311 A.D.). This seems to point to the mosque having been erected by this son of Shamsuddin Firuz Shah (after whom Pandua was renamed Firuzabad) ; but the Munshi does not give a copy of the inscription, and it cannot now be traced. If, however, he was correct, the Gūmāsti mosque must have been one of the earliest mosques to be erected in either Gaur or Pandua. There was also an Alms house (*Khairat Khana*), of which remains still exist.

The name Gūmāsti is possibly a corruption of Būa-Māsti. The local story is that one Nāsti (or Māsti) was maid servant to Sultān Nasrat Shah (929-939 A.H. or 1518-1532 A.D.), and that she was called in the *Harem* by the name Būa Māsti or Būa Māsti, *Būa* meaning "elder sister." The place where she resided was also called "Būamāsti." It seems to the writer that Būa Māsti held a high position in the Royal family and that it was probably she who constructed the Jahāniyān Mosque at Pirān-i-Pir in 941 A.H. (1535 A.D.),¹ as well as being the provider of the drinking-water shed mentioned in the inscription found at Chālisapara, Old Mālah, that was built in the year 938 A.H. (1532 A.D.).²

7.—GANGA SNÂN, AND THE BATHING GHAT AT SA'DULLĀHPUR.

At Sa'dullāhpur, which is six miles south-west of English Bazar, there is a bathing-ghat with a long flight of steps leading down to the river Bhāgrathi. It has also a large burning-ground for the cremation of Hindu corpses. There is no temple. It is said that the Muhammadan Kings of Gaur appointed this place for the performance of sacred rites by the Hindus and the cremation of their dead bodies near the old bed of the Ganges.

An Annual Fair is held here on the full moon of *Paus* (December).

8.—TĀNDA, THE LAST CAPITAL OF GAUR.

The first mention of this place by a European is Ralph Fitch's in 1585:

"Tanda is in the land of Gauren [Gaur]. It hath in times of past been a kingdom but now is subdued by Zelaḥdim Echebar [Jelaluddin Akbar]. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked, with a little cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many tigers, wild butts, and great store of wilde foule : they are very great idolaters. Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river, flowing over the

¹ *Supra*, p. 93.

² *Supra*, pp. 153 and 158.

bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way the river Ganges was woont to run remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doth stand so farre from the water." This agrees fairly well with Rennell's map, made nearly 200 years later, where we find 'Tarrah' marked 1 mile N. W. of Mad-dapour (*i.e.*, Mahdīpūr), and a little more than this distance S. W. of the Citadel of Gaur, on the opposite side of the Bhāgīrathī.

Buchanan Hamilton in 1810 made the following observations on 'Tangra' as he called it (Jackson's edition of 'Purnea', pp. 109-10), and, on the accompanying map, shows the place as a large square fort :—

"The only ruin [in Kaliachak Division] is that of Tangra, a place of no considerable antiquity. When the family of Sheer Shah was deprived of the Government of India by the Mogul Hamayun, the kingdom of Bengal again threw off its subjection to Delhi and the new dynasty left Gaur and retired across the Old Ganges to Tangra. The distance is so small that they could not be said to have changed the seat of Government, but only to have built a new palace or country residence; and although Gaur is said to have been plundered by the first of these princes, it was by no means destroyed, nor did the people follow the court to Tangra, which would never appear to have been a large place, nor are there any considerable ruins to denote that these princes lived in splendour or erected great works."

Tānda was called Khawāspūr to distinguish it from Tānra Tahsīl in the Faizābād district of the United Provinces; but, owing to the destruction of Tānda by floods in—it is said—1826, the name Khawāspūr has now been transferred to a place on the east bank of the Bhāgīrathī, about a mile west of Rāmkelī, while the supposed site of Tānda is represented by the village 'Jolua Badhal,' just across the river from the village of Khīrkī, which is less than a mile south of the modern Khawāspūr.

Sulaimān Kararānī is said to have transferred the capital from Gaur to Tānda in 1565, and it was a favourite residence of the earlier Mughal Governors of Bengal¹. In 1660 Shah Shujā', hard-pressed by Mīr Jumla (Aurangzīb's General), retreated from Rājmahal to Tānda, in the vicinity of which town was fought the decisive battle in which he was finally routed. After this date Tānda is not mentioned in history.

The word *Tānda* is generally applied by the people to *Char*-lands, which, if small, are called *Tānrī*. The names of several villages of Māldah end with this name, as, for instance, Sāt-Tānrī and Bhartī-Tānrī.

Khajah, a well-known article of confectionery with a wide reputation, is said to have been first prepared in Bengal at Tānda—one Mīr Mālatī,

¹ Mān Singh later in 1595-96 removed the seat of Government from Tānda to Rājmahal, where, as noted by Manrique, Shah Shujā' also was in residence in 1641.

a *faqir*, whose tomb is still seen near the site of Tānda, having taught a local *modī* (grocer) how to prepare it¹.

9.—BAHRĀL.

This village stands on the river Kālīndrī, 21 miles north-west of the headquarters of English Bazar and about two miles south-east of Ratua police-station. At this place Nawāb Sirājuddaula was arrested through the instrumentality of Dāna Shāh, a *faqir*. His capture is thus described by Stewart in his "History of Bengal": "Taking with him his jewels and a large sum of money upon elephants accompanied by his wife Looftunnissa and one or two other women in covered carriages, he hastened to Bhagwanigola where he embarked upon some of his own boats which were stationed there and proceeded up the river in hopes of meeting Mr. Law with the French detachment whom he had ordered to join him, or of effecting his escape to Purneah, but on his arrival opposite to Rājmahal he and his women, being oppressed with hunger, stopped at the cell of a Muhammadan darvesh named Dāna Shāh and requested him to procure them some food. To this man Sirājuddaula in the days of his prosperity had offered an affront, the remembrance of which still rankled in his mind; he, however, received them courteously and set about preparing some *kichrī* (hodge-podge) for them; but privately despatched one of his servants across the river to Mr. Qāsim, the brother of Mir Jāfar Khan, who commanded the troops at Rājmahal, and who, upon receipt of the intelligence, immediately proceeded to the cell of the Darvesh [at Bahra] and seized the unfortunate fugitive."

10.—DEOTALA,² or *Qasbah* TABRIZĀBĀD.

Fifteen miles north of Pandua, on the *Pādsālāhi* road to Devkot, and 1½ miles south of the northern boundary of the Maldah district, is found an artificially raised area of land which is evidently—from the name of the place (Deotala); the numerous tanks scattered through the jungle; and the Hindu remains found in the vicinity—an ancient Hindu settlement. To the south-west of a fine tank and on the opposite, or western, side of the main road (which was here formerly paved with bricks on edge in the same fashion as the road

¹ As I am informed that the *Khajāh* of Tānda was a sort of sweet puff-paste, the *faqir* probably brought the receipt from Silot, a village in South Bihar, not far from Rājgir, which is still renowned for this sweetmeat—H. E. S.

² Owing to my discovery of the inscription inside the *Chilla Khāna* and the fresh reading by Maulvi Najmul Husain of the inscription over the doorway, I have substituted an entirely fresh description of Deotala for the Khan Sahib's short paraphrase of Cunningham's account.—H. E. S.

near the Adīna Mosque) there is a *Chilla Khāna*, or *takiya* (religious seminary), of the Pandua Saint, Shah Jalāl. This, the local people say, is one of 360



Fig. 33.—Chilla Khāna of Shah Jalāl, Dacca.

such temporary abodes of this much travelled saint. The *Chilla Khāna* is situated in a small courtyard which contains a number of graves, and to the immediate south-west of the chief building is a small modern whitewashed mosque. Cunningham visited the spot in 1879-80 and made the following remarks (*vide* pp. 94 and 95 of his Report):—

“ Over the entrance gateway of the enclosure there is a neatly cut inscription on a black basalt slab, recording the erection of a *Jāmi' Masjid* in the year A.H. 868 during the reign of Bārbak Shāh. There are several Hindu pillars lying about the enclosure, and.....a fine standing figure of Vishnu with four arms.....The inscription is a very fine specimen of the curious style of writing which prevailed at this period, in which all the perpendicular strokes of the letters are prolonged upwards and arranged at equal distances so as to look like a railing. ”

Translation.—“Almighty Allah said [Qur’ān ix, 19]: Do ye take the
 giving of drink to pilgrims and the frequenting of the Holy Mosque to be equal
 in value to him who believeth in Allah and the last day and exerts himself in
 the road of Allah? They are not held equal by Allah: for Allah guideth
 not the unrighteous.”

I. Bārbak Shah inscription dated *Rajab* 868 A.D. (March 1464 A.D.).

I. Barbak Shah inscription dated *Rajab* 868 A.D. (March 1464 A.D.).

MEMOIRS OF GUR AND PANDUA.

II. Inscription of *Hazrat-i-A'lā* (Sulaimān Karārānī), dated *Zil Hijjah* 978 A.H. (May 1571 A.D.)

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً في الدنيا بنى الله
تعالى سبعين قصوراً في الجنة وبنى (٩) المسجد في القسبة المباركة تبريزآباد
عرف ديوتله في العهد حضرت اعلی خلد الله تعالى ملكه و اعلی شانه
و بنى المسجد میان سلیمان ابن میان صاحب جمع سلمه
الله تعالى في الدارين في ست الشهر ذي الحجة من شهر سنة ثمان
و سبعين و تسعمائة (عنت میامنه ؟) *

Translation.—"The Prophet—May the Peace and Blessing of Allāh be on him!—said: 'He who builds a mosque in the world, Almighty Allāh will build [for him] 70 palaces in Paradise.'

"The mosque was built in the blessed village (*Qasbah*) of Tabrīzābād—known as Deotalah—in the time of *Hazrat-i-A'lā*—May Almighty Allāh perpetuate his sovereignty and elevate his condition! Sulaimān Miān, son of.....Miān, Revenue Collector (*Sāhib-i-Jama'*)—May Almighty Allāh protect him in both worlds!—built the mosque on the 6th of *Zil Hijjah* of the months of the year 978. (May its blessings be wide-spread!)"

Sulaimān Khān Karārānī (whose real name was the same as that of the Revenue Collector who rebuilt the Deotala mosque in 978 A.H.) was for nearly 20 years prior to 972 Governor of South Bihār under the Sūrī Kings of Bengal. When the last of these Kings was slain by a usurper in 971, Sulaimān sent his brother Tāj Khān to turn out the usurper, and on Tāj Khān's death in the following year, Sulaimān included Bengal in his dominions and, having moved the capital from Gaur to Tānda, ruled over South Bihār and Bengal till his own death in 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.). His General, the famous Kālā Pahār, also conquered Orissa for Sulaimān in 975. Sulaimān was careful to acknowledge the suzerainty of Akbar and only used the title *Hazrat-i-A'lā* ('His August Majesty') given in the inscription. Apparently also he abstained from striking any coinage of his own. After Sulaimān's death, his second son Dā'ūd revolted; but in 982 he had to cede Bengal and Bihar to Akbar, though he continued to be King of Orissa. In the following year, however, Dā'ūd again invaded Bengal, but was defeated and killed by Husain Qulī Khān Jahān at the battle of Rājmahal in

984 A.H. (1576 A.D.). The Afghans continued from time to time to give trouble until 'Usmān was defeated and killed in 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.), but from the time of Dārūd's death Bengal and Orissa actually formed part of the Mughal Empire.

III. A third inscription which is fixed in the inner wall of the *Chilla* building to the left of the *astāna*, or place of meditation of the Saint, is dated 934 A.H. (1527 A.D.) and records the erection of a mosque by Nasrat Shāh of the Husaini dynasty, or, more probably, the restoration of the older mosque of Barbak Shāh's time. The inscription is of special interest as it gives the name of the Saint as Shaikh Jalāl Muhammad Tabrizi.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 في سنة ٩٣٤ هـ الموافق ١٥٢٧ م
 بنى هذا المسجد في موضع
 السلطنة في مدينة
 بنى الله عليه وسلم في سنة ٩٣٤ هـ

بنى الله عليه وسلم في سنة ٩٣٤ هـ

بنى الله عليه وسلم في سنة ٩٣٤ هـ

بنى الله عليه وسلم في سنة ٩٣٤ هـ

بنى الله عليه وسلم في سنة ٩٣٤ هـ

Translation.—"The Prophet—May the Peace and Blessing of Allāh be on him!—said: He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build for him a similar abode in Paradise.

"This mosque was built in the time of the Sultān, son of the Sultān, Nāsir-uddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaffar Nasrat Shāh Sultān, son of Husain Shāh Sultān—May Allāh protect his sovereignty and rule! in the territory¹ of Shaikh Jalāl Muhammad Tabrizi. The builder was his agent (*kārfarmānāhu*) Sher Malik in the year 934."

Some idea of the picturesque appearance of Shah Jalāl's *Chilla Khāna* at Deotala will be obtained from the reproduction of a recent photograph that has been given at the beginning of this section; while the Barbak Shah inscription has been included as the second figure of Plate IV. General Cunningham probably removed the Vishnu image that he refers to, as it is not apparently now at Deotala, but an illustration of it appears at Plate XXVII of his Report. The pillars he mentions are still in the courtyard at Deotala.

¹ The construction is faulty في الله شيرج being written instead of في الله شيرج

APPENDIX A.

Bibliography.

The following are the principal authorities on the subject of Gaur, Pandua, and other connected matters :—

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2. *Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Zīāuddīn Baranī. Edited by Saiyid Ahmad Khān, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1848.

3. *Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif. Edited by Mawlawī Vilāyat Husain, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1891.

(The first is a continuation of No. 1 down to the time of Firūz Shah : while the author of the second accompanied Firūz Shah in his expedition to Bengal. Abstracts of these two works are given by Elliot and Dowson in Volume III of their 'History of India as told by its own Historians'—Trübner, London, 1871.)

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7. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* by Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad. Translated by B. De (*Bibliotheca Indica* No. 225 ; Vol. I : 1927). [The two invasions of Bengal by Firūz Shah of Delhi and the sieges of Ekdāla are described on pp. 244—247.]

8. *Siyarul-Muta'khkhirīn* ('Accounts of Modern Times'), being a History of India from 1118-94 Hijra by Mīr Ghulām Husain Khān. Translated into English by M. Raymond, afterwards called Hājī Mustafa (Calcutta, 1802, 4 vols.). [The period covered is 1706-83 A.D., and the book was probably first published in 1786.]

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22. *Epigraphia Indica*; Vol. II. Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1894. [On pp. 282-288 readings of inscriptions from Pandua and Gaur by Paul Horn are given.]

23. (1) *Certain Disputed or Doubtful Events in the History of Bengal, Muhammadan period, Part I*, by Monmohan Chakravarti. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, [N. S.], 1908, pp. 151-158. [Chronology of the first 30 years after the Muslim conquest of Bengal.]

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28. R. C. Majumdār's *Chronology of the Sena Kings*. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XVII, 1921, pp. 7-16.

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Appendix B.

Topographical Bibliography of Arabic (with a few Persian) Inscriptions found in the Māldah District, Bengal—particularly at Gaur and Pandua—from the earliest period of Muhammadan rule down to the time of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shāh.

Date.		King.	Provenance.		Reference.
1	A. H. 630	A. D. 1232	Shamsuddīn Ṭīlāmish (Ṭutūmish).	Gaur	Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. XV, p. 45 and plate XX. Inscription in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (Records the digging of a well.)
2	647	1248	Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd Jāmi (Governor of Bengal).	Pichhlī, 8 miles N. W. of Māldah ..	Cunningham, <i>idem</i> , Pl. XXI. For reading <i>vide</i> 'Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua,' pp. 163-4.
	[711	1311	Ghiyāsuddīn Bahādur Shāh (co-ruler with his father Shamsuddīn Firūz Shāh).	Gūāmālī, Gaur	'Memoirs', p. 165.]
3	770 (776(?)	1369 1374)	Sikandar Shāh ..	Adina Mosque at Hazrat Pandua ..	(i) Blochmann, <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1873), p. 257. (ii) Cum., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 93. (iii) Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 62 : Plate 45, No. I. (iv) 'Memoirs', pp. 139-140. (For the reading of 776 <i>vide</i> Beveridge's précis of the <i>Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā</i> of Munshī Ilāhī Baksh, <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1895), p. 212; and P. Horn, <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , Vol. II, p. 283.

	Date.		King.	Provenance.	Reference.
4	A. H. 859	A. D. 1455	Nasiruddin Mahmūd Shāh.	Inscription (recording the erection of a mosque by Hilāl) now over the doorway of the courtyard of Shāh Gadā's shrine, Old Māldah.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), pp. 294-295. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 72, and Plate 46, No. 3. (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 150.
5	862	1457	Ditto	Bridge of Five Arches at Gaur (near the Kotwālī Gate).	(i) Cunn., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 57, Plate XX. (ii) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1875), p. 289. (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 75. (Refers to the erection of a Bridge.)
6	863	1459	Ditto	Above (inside) the northern door of the Kitchen, Nūr Qutbul-'Ālam's Shrine (<i>Chhotī Dargāh</i>), Pandua.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1873), p. 271. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 52 : Plate 46, No. 4. (iii) 'Memoirs', pp. 115-6 : and Plate VI.
7	865	1460	Ruknuddin Bārbak Shāh.	From some mosque in Gaur (now in Indian Museum, Calcutta).	Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 295.
8	868	1464	Ditto	Deotala, on northern boundary of Māldah District.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 296. (ii) Cunn., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 94. (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 169 : and Plate IV.
9	870	1465	(<i>Tempore</i> Bārbak Shāh, but no King mentioned.)	Inscription in the courtyard of Shāh Ni'matullāh's shrine, Firūzpur, Gaur.	(i) R. Gaur, p. 36 (where the date is wrongly given as 970). (ii) 'Memoirs', p. 83. (Records the buildings of a gate by Khān Jahān.)
10	871	1466	Ruknuddin Bārbak Shāh.	Probably from the <i>Nīm Darwāzah</i> , Gaur ..	(i) Cunn., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 53. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 18. (iii) 'Memoirs', pp. 56-58.

11	870(?)	1406	Shamsuddin Shah.	Yū'af	Sālimuddin Mosque, Old Mālibah	..
12	880	1470	Ditto	..	Probably from the Ghānikatī Mosque, (four	..
13	884	1470	Ditto	..	Entrances, of <i>Madrashah</i> , at Piruzpūr, (four	..
14	884	1470	Ditto	..	<i>Sijdah-gāh</i> , (<i>Chhoti Darwāz</i>), Pandua	..
15	885	1480	Ditto	..	Qāntipūrī Mosque, (four .. (but now inside the door of the <i>Qadam Rast</i> entrance.)	..
16	889	1484	Jahābulah Path Shāh	..	Common Mosque, (four ..	..
17	891	1480	Ditto	..	Modern mosque, Mohallpur, (four ..	..
18	[Date lost]		Ditto	..	Chahar Mosque, (four ..	..
19	894	1480	Bahāuddin Pīrūz Shāh II.	..	Probably from a Mosque at Gāminātī, (four	..
20	8 [..]	..	Ditto	..	Formed by E, V, Westmost in the <i>Kutub</i> , Old Mālibah, (Now missing ; but side reproduction in R. (four.)	..

(i) Bloch, *d. A. S. B.* (1874), p. 208.
(ii) 'Memoirs', pp. 117-8.

(i) 'Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
(ii) R. (four), p. 30.
(iii) 'Memoirs', p. 60.

(i) Boveridge, *d. A. S. B.* (1896), p. 222.
(ii) 'Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 76, and Plate XN11 (reproduced as Plate 111 of 'Memoirs').
(iii) 'Memoirs', p. 77.

(i) Bloch, *d. A. S. B.* (1873), p. 276.
(ii) 'Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
(iii) R. (four), p. 50, and Plate 47, No. 5.
(iv) 'Memoirs', p. 116.

(i) Bloch, *d. A. S. B.* (1873), p. 277.
(ii) E. I., Vol. II, p. 284.
(iii) Boveridge, *d. A. S. B.* (1896), p. 218.
(iv) 'Memoirs', pp. 62, 63 and 72.

'Memoirs', pp. 85-87 ; and Plate IV.

E. I., Vol. II, p. Horn, p. 287. (Records the erection of a mosque by Sayyid Dastūr, son of Sayyid Rahat, at the head of the south of Shewānān Bakhshnār, son of 'Paj Khān.)

E. I., *idem*, pp. 287-8. (Object lost. Pandat Khān, *Wazir-i-Laskar*, mentioned.)

(i) Bloch, *d. A. S. B.* (1874), p. 299.
(ii) R. (four), p. 74, and Plate 48, No. 7.

(i) Bloch, *d. A. S. B.* (1874), pp. 299-300.
(ii) R. (four), p. 76, and Plate 40, No. 8.

	Date.		King.	Provenance.	Reference.
21	A. H. 896	A. D. 1490	Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd Shāh II.	Left hand inscription over the <i>Chilla Khāna</i> of the <i>Chhotī Dargāh</i> , Pandua.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1873), p. 289 and Plate VII, No. 3. (ii) Cun., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 84. (iii) R. Gaur, p. 76, and Plate 49, No. 8 a. (iv) 'Memoirs', p. 114.
22	898 (<i>Rabī' I</i>)	1493	Shamsuddīn Muzaḥḥar Shāh.	Brought from Nawābganj on the Mahā- nandā, 20 miles S.-E. of Gaur, but pro- bably removed previously from the mos- que in Gaur recorded in the <i>Riyāz</i> as having been built by this King. Now in the compound of the Collector's house, Māldah.	(i) <i>Proceedings</i> of the <i>A. S. B.</i> , 1890, p. 242. (ii) 'Memoirs', p. 33.
23	898 (17th <i>Ramazān</i> .)	1493	Ditto	The central inscription over the <i>Chilla</i> <i>Khāna</i> of the <i>Chhotī Dargāh</i> , Pandua.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1873), p. 290 and Plate VI, No. 2. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 77. (iii) 'Memoirs', pp. 114-5. (Records the building of a <i>Sūfī Khāna</i> .)
24	899 (10th <i>Zil</i> <i>Qa'dah</i> .)	1494	'Alāuddīn Shāh.	<i>Dargāh</i> of the <i>Aulād</i> (descendants) of Sultān [Ibrāhīm] Adham Balkhī, Chalisapārā, Old Māldah (on road at Ralli Brothers' Jute godown).	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 302. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 78, and Plate 50, No. 1. (iii) 'Memoirs', pp. 152-3. (<i>N. B.</i> —There were nearly 14 months be- tween this and the previous inscription.)
25	900	1495	Ditto	<i>Phūtī Masjid</i> at Old Māldah (now missing)	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1873), p. 302. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 78, and Plate 50, No. 11. (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 150.
26	907	1502	Ditto	Husain Shah's <i>Madrasah</i> at Gaur, but now outside a mosque at English Bāzār.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 303. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 80, and Plate 51, No. 12. (iii) 'Memoirs', pp. 157-8.
27	909	1504	Ditto	Found by Francklin near the gateway of the <i>Qadam Rasūl</i> enclosure, Gaur.	'Memoirs', p. 63, note 1.

28	910	1601-6	Ditto	..	Mustafa Khān's Mosque, Ghilāwā (5 miles below English Bazar on the Mathurā River) but probably from Gaur.
29	910	1604-6	Ditto	..	Now over the site of a newly constructed mosque at Hyderabad in the English Bazar Mathurā but found at Mirchal near the shrine of Akht Shāhid.
30	911	1606	Ditto	..	Over the door of Shāh Ghulī's shrine, Old Mathurā.
31	913	1607	Ditto	..	Now in an <i>Indubān</i> at Chak Ambia, English Bazar.
32	911	1608	Ditto	..	Prominent mosque at (201) Mathurā
33	910	1600	Ditto	..	Right-hand inscription over the door of the <i>Chāhā</i> known as the <i>Chāhā</i> <i>Barāh</i> , Panchnā.
34	910	1610	Ditto	..	Left-hand inscription on the enclosure wall of the tomb of Shāh Akht Shāhid, Gaur.
35	910	1610	Ditto	..	Painted by Cunningham at the same place, but now missing.
36	910	1610	Ditto	..	Probably from the Gauri Gate, but now at Shāh Akht Shāhid's shrine in the Panchnā suburb of Gaur.

- (i) Bloch., *J. A. S. B.* (1874), p. 304. (Records the building of a gate.)
- 'Memoirs', p. 158. (Records the erection of a *sargāh*—shed for supplying water to pilgrims.)
- (i) Bloch., *J. A. S. B.* (1873), p. 294.
- (ii) R. Gaur, p. 82, and Plate 52, No. 14.
- (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 139.
- (i) Boyeridge, *J. A. S. B.* (1895), p. 198.
- (ii) 'Memoirs', p. 157.
- Bloch., *J. A. S. B.* (1874), p. 305.
- (i) Gaur, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- (ii) R. Gaur, p. 82, and Plate 52, No. 15 (where the date is wrongly given as 911 A.H.).
- (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 114.
- (i) Bloch., *J. A. S. B.* (1873), p. 294.
- (ii) Gaur, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- (iii) R. Gaur, p. 86; and Plate 53, No. 16.
- (iv) 'Memoirs', p. 90. (Records the building of the gateway of the tomb.)
- (i) Gaur, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- (ii) R. Gaur, p. 86, and Plate 54, No. 17. (Records the building of a gateway.)
- (i) *J. L.*, Vol. II, p. 285.
- (ii) 'Memoirs', p. 67.
- (iii) Gaur, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- (iv) Bloch., *J. A. S. B.* (1873), p. 295.
- (v) R. Gaur, p. 88, and Plate 55, No. 19.

	Date.		King.	Provenance.	Reference.
	A. H.	A. D.			
37	918	1512	'Alāuddīn Shāh.	Found by E. V. Westmacott at Mohātūli, 1 mile south of Old Māldah (on the grave of a <i>Pir</i> called Sirājuddīn).	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 305. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 86, and Plate 54, No. 18. (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 154, note 1.
38	923	1517	Ditto	From Daulat Nāzīr's Mosque near Ghābārī (below English Bazar).	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 306. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 88, and Plate 55, No. 20.
39	(Date lost)		Ditto	Mahdīpūr Mosque, Gaur	<i>E. J.</i> , Vol. II. P. Horn, p. 288. (Records the building of a mosque by Malik Yazīd Mu'azzam Zafar Khān, son of Malik - -.)
40	926	1520	Nāsiruddīn Shāh.	Found near the <i>Dākhāl Darwāzah</i> , Gaur, (now in the Guntī Gate Museum).	(i) <i>Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica</i> , 1911-12, G. Yazdani, pp. 5-7 and Plate XXXI. (ii) 'Memoirs', p. 51; and note 1, p. 67.
41	930	1524	Ditto	Found (with No. 37) by E. V. Westmacott at Mohātūli near Old Māldah.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), pp. 307-8. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 90, and Plate 56, No. 21. (Records the erection of a gateway to some mosque.)
42	931	1524-25	Ditto	Right-hand inscription on the enclosure wall of the tomb of Alchī Sirājuddīn, Gaur.	'Memoirs', p. 91. (Records the erection of a gateway to the tomb.)
43	932	1526	Ditto	Recorded by Franklin in 1810, as being then <i>in situ</i> on the Golden Mosque, Gaur.	(i) Gunn., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 67. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 15. (iii) 'Memoirs', pp. 46-7.
44	933	1527	Ditto	From some Mosque at Gaur (now in Indian Museum, Calcutta).	Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 307.
45	934	1528	Ditto	Inside the <i>Chilla Khāna</i> of Shuikh Jalāl Tabrizī at Deotula.	'Memoirs', p. 171.

46	935	1528-29	Ditto	..	On the tomb of Shāh Ibrāhīm Chaitan Lankapati at Parā, Shāh Munda, 1½ miles south of Old Māldah.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), pp. 307-8. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 90, and Plate 56, No. 22. (iii) 'Memoirs', pp. 153-4. (Records the building of the gateway for some mosque.)
47	937	1530	Ditto	..	<i>Qadām Rasūl</i> shrine, Gaur. . .	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1872), p. 338. (ii) Cunn., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 55. (iii) R. Gaur, p. 92, and Plate 57, No. 23. (iv) <i>E. I.</i> , II, p. 286. (v) 'Memoirs', pp. 61-2.
48	938	1531-32	Ditto	..	Sayyid Shāh's tomb at Chalsapārā, Old Māldah.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 308. (ii) R. Gaur, p. 94, and Plate 58, No. 24. (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 153. (Records the provision of a shed (for drinking water) by Būyā (?) Mālī.)
49	941	1534-35	Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd Shāh.	..	On the Jahāniyān Mosque, Gaur	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1872), pp. 339-40. (ii) Cunn., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 73. (iii) R. Gaur, p. 10, and Plate 58, No. 25. (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 93. (This mosque appears to have been erected by the same lady—here called Bibi Mālī—who provided the drinking water-shed mentioned in the last inscription.)
50	..	..	Ditto (?)	..	Inscription on 4 panels now in the Indian Museum, possibly from Akhī Sirājuddīn's tomb, Gaur.	(i) Cunn., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 72, and Plate XX. (ii) 'Memoirs', p. 92, note.
51	943	1536	Ditto	..	Found by Munshi Ilāhī Bakhsh in a jungle near Shāhpūr (south of. Old Māldah).	Beveridge, <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1895), pp. 214-15. (Records the erection of a gate by this King, who is also stated to have been commonly known as 'Abd Shāh' and 'Abdul Badr'.)
52	978	1571	<i>Hazrat-i-A'īā Sulaimān Kararūnī.</i>		Over the door of Shaikh Jalāl Tabrizi's <i>Chilla Khāna</i> at Deotala.	(i) Bloch., <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1874), p. 297. (ii) 'Memoirs', p. 170.

	Date.		King.	Provenance.	Reference.
	A. H.	A. D.			
53	980	1573	Tenpore Hazrat-i- A'la Sulaimān Karāmī (or his son Bāyazīd), but no King mentioned.	Over the door of the enclosure of Shaikh 'Alāul Haqq's Tomb, Pandua.	'Memoirs', pp. 109-10.
54	990	1582	Tenpore Akbar, but no King mention- ed.	Over the doorway of the <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , or 'Golden' Mosque, Pandua.	(i) R. Gaur, p. 56. (ii) Beveridge, <i>J. A. S. B.</i> (1895), p. 216. (iii) 'Memoirs', pp. 120-22.
55	993	1585	Ditto ..	Over the pulpit of the <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> Mosque, Pandua.	(i) R. Gaur, p. 56. (ii) Beveridge (<i>idem</i>). (iii) 'Memoirs', p. 123.
56	993	1585	Ditto ..	Formerly over the enclosure gateway of the same Mosque, but now lost.	'Memoirs', p. 123.
57	1004	1596	Ditto ..	<i>Jāmi'</i> , or 'Golden' Mosque, Old Mēldah ..	(i) R. Gaur, p. 44 (where the date is wrongly given as 974 A.H.). It is also stated that the mosque was built by a merchant called Ma'sūm, whose brother built the caravansarāi close-by (possibly the <i>Kadrā</i> is meant). (ii) 'Memoirs', p. 151.
58	1017	1608	Tenpore Jahāngīr : but no King's name mentioned.	On the tomb of Ināyutullāh immediately to the left of the entrance wicket-gate to the burial enclosure round the tombs of 'Alāul Haqq and Nūr Qutbul-'Ālam, of <i>Chhotā Dargāh</i> , Pandua.	'Memoirs', p. 118.
59	1020	1612	Ditto ..	On a pillar at the head of the grave of Nūr Qutbul-'Ālam, <i>Chhotā Dargāh</i> , Pandua.	'Memoirs', p. 107, where the reading and date (1000 A.H.) given by Franklin are cor- rected.

60	1075	1664	<i>Tenpore Aurangzib :</i> but no King men- tioned.	<i>Jāmi' Masjid in Bari Dargāh, Pandua ..</i>	'Memoirs', pp. 100-1. (Records repairs of the mosque by Shāh Ni'amatullāh of Firūzpur, Gaur.)
61	1084	1673	Ditto ..	<i>Bhandar Khāna ; Bari Dargāh, Pandua ..</i>	'Memoirs', p. 102. (Records the erection of the building by Chānd Khān.)
62	1093	1682	Ditto ..	<i>Tannūr Khāna : Bari Dargāh, Pandua ..</i>	'Memoirs', p. 104. (Records the erection of the building by one Sa'dullāh.)
63	1134	1721	<i>Tenpore Muhammad Shāh ; but no King mentioned.</i>	<i>On the Lakhani Senī Dalān ; Bari Dargāh, Pandua.</i>	'Memoirs', p. 103. (Records the repair of Shāh Jalāl's <i>astānah</i> , i.e., <i>Jāmi' Mosque</i> , in the time of <i>Mutawallī Mawlawī Haibatullāh</i> .)

APPENDIX C.

Life and Work of Saiyid Ilāhī Bakhsh al-Husainī of Angrezābād, the Author of the “Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā”.

[Chiefly taken from Mr. H. Beveridge's Memoir, and account of this author's work, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1895, pages 194-236 ; but supplemented from a few additional notes by Khān Sāhib 'Abid 'Alī Khān.]

Saiyid Ilāhī Bakhsh was born in 1240 A.H. (1824 A.D.) at English Bāzār, in *Mahalla* Chak-Ambia. The family came originally from the Upper Provinces and members of it had held high office under the Kings of Bengal. Eventually, on account of old age, or for some other reasons, they retired to the town of Old Māldah where they settled in a quarter known as the Berozgartolā, or quarters of the unemployed—apparently because it was chiefly occupied by persons out of employ. This quarter was in the neighbourhood of Mughaltūlī, and the well-known mosque of Ma'sūm Saudāgar. Then the family moved into another old quarter of Māldah called Sākmohan, and eventually they came to English Bāzār. The author's grandfather, Mīhrullāh, was buried at Old Māldah ; but he appears to have lived at English Bāzār, and in the service of the English Government, for the author's father, 'Alī Bakhsh, was born there, as was also the author. His birthplace, he tells us, was in the quarter known as Chak Ambia. He spent all his life in English Bāzār, and died there on 2nd March 1892.

In his latter days he was a Persian teacher in the Zilla School at English Bāzār [where, incidentally, he taught the author of “Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua” Persian and Urdu]. Ilāhī Bakhsh was a man of great simplicity of mind, and an enthusiastic student of history ; perhaps, he acquired this taste from his friend and teacher Munshī 'Abdul Karīm, who, in his turn, was the pupil of Ghulām Husain Salīm, the author of the *Riyāzu-s-Salātin*. Perhaps he too became interested in Gaur from the fact that he inherited from his paternal aunt some rent-free land in Hazratnagar, otherwise Qāzīgāon, which is near the shrine of Makdūm Akhī Sirājuddīn. He also speaks, on page 144 of his work, of visiting the tomb of an ancestor of his, named Mīr Karhān, who died at Māldah in 1199 A.H. (1784 A.D.). The title of his work *Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā* or “World Displaying Sun” is a chronogram and yields the date 1270 A.H. or 1853 A.D., this being the time when the book was begun : he was occupied with it more or less for the rest of his life ; but he appears to have finished the history of Bengal in 1280 A.H. or 1863 A.D., for this is the date to which he has brought down his narration of events.

As usual, the work begins with praises of Allāh and Muhammad. Then it proceeds to pronounce an eulogium on Munshī 'Abdul Karīm, the friend and instructor of the author. We are told that 'Abdul Karīm was originally

an inhabitant of Barh, in the district of Patna, that he came to Alālah and entered into the service of Ghulam Husain, the author of the *Riyāzu-s-Salātīn*, who was at the time Dāk Munshi, or Postmaster, under Mr. George Udney. 'Abdul Karīm was for a time *Bakshi* or Assistant, to the *Nāzir*, or Sheriff, and afterwards became a *Mukhtar*. He appears to have been a good Persian scholar, and one or two inscriptions for mosques which he composed are quoted by Ithi Bakshi.

The account of Alālah (including Gaur, Pandua, etc.) covers pages 111-226 of the *Khurshid-i-Jahan Numa*. This is the really valuable part of the book, which extends to 492 pages. The author had a good deal of local knowledge and he gives some inscriptions and many particulars which are not to be found in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, or in Cunningham's Archaeological Report, or anywhere else, so far as I know. The praise which Major Stewart has bestowed on Ghulam Husain, viz., that he took considerable pains to ascertain the dates of the inscriptions on buildings, is still more deserved by Ithi Bakshi. He must have worked very hard and paid many visits to Gaur and Pandua, for he not only gives numerous inscriptions, but he also states the dimensions of the various buildings, and such traditions as he could collect about their origin, etc. No doubt it was some advantage to him to come after Ghulam Husain, but he had the greater advantage of being born and bred in English Bazar, whereas Ghulam Husain seems only to have come there in the latter days of his life.

H. B.

He used to copy the beautiful *Ughra* inscriptions with his own hand and collected a number of them in his house. His room was decorated with the photographs of the ruins presented to him by Mr. Beveridge and other Europeans interested in the subject. He had a library of Urdu and Persian books numbering about 1000, but both the *Ughra* inscriptions and his books were destroyed when his house fell in during the earthquake of 1897. The original copy of the *Khurshid-i-Jahan Numa* was sold by his son Saïyid 'Alī Sajjad to the *Mulawalli* of the Bais Hazari Estate. The book is still preserved in the Imperial Library at Calcutta. He was known by the name of 'Jagatguru,' and he foretold that his mantle would fall upon me.

A. A. K.

APPENDIX D.

The Sultans of Delhi.

First Dynasty—Slave Kings.

A. H.	A. D.	
602-607	1206-10	(1) Qutbuddīn Aibak, slave of Muhammad Ghori.
607	1210	(2) Arām Shāh.
607-633	1210-35	(3) Shamsuddīn Iltamish (Īltutmish).
633-34	1235-36	(4) Ruknuddīn Firūz Shāh I.
634-37	1236-39	(5) Raziya (Riziyah).
637-39	1239-41	(6) Muizzuddīn Bahrām Shāh.
639-44	1241-46	(7) 'Alāuddīn Mas'ūd Shāh.
644-64	1246-65	(8) Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd Shāh I.
664-86	1265-87	(9) Ghiyāsuddīn Balban.
686-89	1287-90	(10) Muizzuddīn Kaiqubād.

Second Dynasty—Khaljis.

689-95	1290-95	(1) Jalāluddīn Firūz Shāh II.
695	1295	(2) Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm Shāh I.
695-715	1295-1315	(3) 'Alāuddīn Muhammad Shāh I.
715-16	1315-16	(4) Shihābuddīn 'Umar Shāh.
716-20	1316-20	(5) Qutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh I.

720	1320	Nāsiruddīn Khusrū Shāh.
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Third Dynasty—Tughlaqs.

720-25	1320-25	(1) Ghiyāsuddīn Tughlaq Shāh I.
725-52	1325-51	(2) Muhammad Tughlaq II.
752-90	1351-88	(3) Firūz Shāh III.
790-91	1388	(4) Tughlaq Shāh II.
791-92	1388-89	(5) Abū Bakr Shāh.
792-95	1389-92	(6) Muhammad Shāh III.
795	1392	(7) Sikandar Shāh I.
795-97	1392-94	(8) Mahmūd Shāh II.
797-802	1394-99	(9) Nasrat Shāh (Interregnum).
802-15	1399-1412	(8) Mahmūd Shāh II restored.

815-17	1412-14	Daulat Khān Lodī (struck no coins in his own name).
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Fourth Dynasty—Saiyids.

A. H.	817-24	1414-21	(1) Khizr Khān (struck no coins in his own name)
	824-37	1421-33	(2) Muizzuddin Mubarak Shah II.
	837-47	1433-43	(3) Muhammad Shah IV.
847-55		1443-51	(4) 'Alam Shah.

Fifth Dynasty—Lodis.

855-94	1451-88	(1) Bahlol Lodi.
894-923	1488-1517	(2) Sikandar II bin Bahlol.
923-32	1517-26	(3) Ibrahim II bin Sikandar.

932	1526	Invasion of the Mughal Babar, and death of Ibrahim II at Panipat.
932-37	1526-31	(1) Babar.
937-47	1531-40	(2) Humāyūn.

Sixth Dynasty—Afgghans (Sults).

946-52	1539-45	(1) Fariduddin Sher Shah.
952-60	1545-52	(2) Islam Shah, son of (1).
960-64	1552-56	(3) Muhammad 'Adil Shah.
961-62	1553-54	(4) Ibrahim III
962	1554	(5) Sikandar Shah III

} Rivals to 'Adil Shah.

Seventh Dynasty—the Mughal Emperors.

962-3	1555-6	(2) Humāyūn (again).
963	1556	(3) Akbar.
1014	1605	(4) Jahāngir.
1037	1628	(5) Shah Jahān.
1068	1658	(6) Aurangzib 'Alamgir.
1119	1707	(7) Shah 'Alam I Bahādur Shah.
1124	1712	(8) Jahāndar Shah.
1124	1712	(9) Farrukh-Siyar.
1131	1719	(10) Rafi-ud-Darajāt.
1131	1719	(11) Shah Jahān II (Rafi-ud-Daula).
1131-1161	1719-1748	Muhammad Shah.

Et Cetera.

APPENDIX E.

List of the Rulers of Bengal from the Muhammadan Conquest till the final annexation of Bengal by Akbar.

Governors.

A. H.	A. D.	
599-602	1202-1205	Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār Khaljī.
602-605	1205-1208	'Izzuddīn Muhammad-i-Shirān.
605-608	1208-11	'Alāuddīn 'Alī-i-Mardān.
608-24	1211-26	Husāmuddīn—Ghiyāsuddīn 'Iwaz (struck coins in his own name).
624-27	1226-29	Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd. (Second son of the Emperor 'Iltamish).
627	1229	'Izzu-l-Mulk 'Alāuddīn Jānī.
627-31	1229-33	Saifuddīn Aibak.
631-42	1233-44	'Izzuddīn Tughril-i-Tughān Khān.
642-44	1244-46	Qamaruddīn Taimūr Khān-i-Qirān.
644-46(?)	1246-48(?)	Ikhtiyāruddīn Yuzbak-i-Tughril Khān—Mughīsuddīn (struck coins in his own name).
646-57(?)	1248-58(?)	Jalālul-Haqq wad-Dīn Ma'sūd Shāh Jānī.
657-59	1258-60	'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Yuzbakī.
659-64(?)	1260-65(?)	Muhammad Arsalān Tātār Khān.
Uncertain dates		{ Sher Khān. Amīn Khān.
677-82	1278-83	Mughīsuddīn Tughril.

Sultāns of the House of Balban.

682-90	1283-91	(1) Nāsiruddīn Bughra Khān, son of Ghiyāsuddīn Balban of Delhi. (No coins in his name known).
690-701	1291-1301	(2) Ruknuddīn Kaikāūs, son of (1) (Lakhnautī).
701-22	1301-22	(3) Shamsuddīn Fīrūz Shāh, son of (1) (Lakhnautī).
707 or-9	1307 or-9	(4) Jalāluddīn Mahmūd Shāh, son of (3) (Lakhnautī).
717-18	1317-18	(5) Shihābuddīn Bughra Shāh, son of (3) (Lakhnautī) (co-ruler in West Bengal).
710-22	1310-22	(6) Ghiyāsuddīn Bahādur Shāh, son of (3) (co-ruler in Bengal).
722-23	1322-23	Ghiyāsuddīn Bahādur Shāh (all Bengal). [Reconquest by Ghiyāsuddīn Tughlaq of Delhi.]
724-26	1324-26	(7) Nāsiruddīn Ibrāhīm, son of (3), Sultān of Lakhnautī.

725-28	1325-28	(6) Ghiyāsuddīn Bahādur Shāh restored (probably in East Bengal : but after Ibrāhīm's death ruled over the whole of Bengal till he revolted and was slain by Muḥammad Tughlaq).	
725-38(?)	1325-37(?)	Bahram (Tatar) Khān (Imperial Commissioner in East Bengal, and, after 928, Governor of Sunārḡaon).	
726-39	1325-38	Qadar Khān (Governor of Lakhnauti).	
726-40(?)	1325-39(?)	'Izzuddīn A'zam-I-Mulk (Governor of Satgaon).	
739-50	1338-49	Fakhrūddīn Muḥarak Shāh (East Bengal).	
750-53	1349-52	Ikhtiyārūddīn Ghāzi Shāh (East Bengal).	
740-46(?)	1339-45(?)	'Alauddīn 'Alī Shāh (Lakhnauti).	
740-59	1339-58	(1) Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh (for the first 6 years as rival to 'Alī Shāh in West Bengal).	
753-59	1352-58	Ruler of the whole of Bengal after the death of Ikhtiyārūddīn.	
759-92	1358-90	(2) Sikandar Shāh I, son of (1). [Also struck coins at Sunārḡaon in 758 A.H.]	
792-813	1390-1410	(3) Ghiyāsuddīn A'zam Shāh, son of (2).	
814-15	1411-12	(4) Saifuddīn Hamzah Shāh, son of (3).	
815-17	1412-14	(i) Shihabuddīn Bayazid Shāh.	
817	1414	(ii) 'Alauddīn Firuz Shāh, son of (i).	
<i>House of Rājā Kāns (or Gaṇesh).</i>			
813-17	1410-14	(1) Rājā Kāns (as 'King-Maker').	
818-19	1415-16	(2) Jalāuddīn Muḥammad Shāh, son of Rājā Kāns.	
820-1	1417-18	(1) Rājā Kāns deposes his son and assumes the throne of Bengal under the title of Danujā Mardana Deva (<i>Saka</i> dates of coins, 1339 and 1340).	
821-2(?)	1418-19(?)	(3) Mahendra Deva (<i>Saka</i> 1340) : probably son of (1).	
821-35	1418-31	(2) Jalāuddīn Muḥammad Shāh (restored).	
835-46	1431-42	(4) Shamsuddīn Ahmad Shāh, son of (2).	

House of Ilyās Shāh—(restored).

846-64	1442-59	(5) Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd Shāh I, descendant of (1).
864-79	1459-74	(6) Ruknuddīn Bārbak Shāh, son of (5).
879-86	1474-81	(7) Shamsuddīn Yūsuf Shāh, son of (6).
886	1481	(8) Sikandar Shāh II, son of (7).
886-92	1481-86	(9) Jalāluddīn Fath Shāh, son of (5).

Habshī Kings.

892	1486	(1) Sultān Shāhzāda Bārbak.
892-95	1486-89	(2) Saifuddīn Fīrūz Shāh.
895-96	1489-90	(3) Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd Shāh II, son of (2).
896-99	1490-93	(4) Shamsuddīn Muzaffar Shāh.

House of Husain Shāh.

899-925	1493-1519	(1) 'Alāuddīn Husain Shāh.
925-39	1519-32	(2) Nāsiruddīn Nasrat Shāh, son of (1).
939	1532	(3) 'Alāuddīn Fīrūz Shāh II, son of (2).
939-44	1532-37	(4) Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd Shāh III, son of (1).
		Ditto (joint rule from 933 A.H. with Nasrat Shah).

944-46	1537-39	Humāyūn (Mughal Emperor).
946	1539	Conquest of Sher Shāh.

House of Muhammad Sūr.

960-62	1552-54	(1) Shamsuddīn Muhammad Ghāzī Shāh.
962-68	1554-60	(2) Ghiyāsuddīn Bahādur Shāh, son of (1).
968-71	1560-63	(3) Ghiyāsuddīn Jalāl Shāh, son of (1).
971	1563	(4) Son of Ghiyāsuddīn Jalāl Shāh (name unknown).

House of Sulaimān Kararānī.

972-80	1564-72	(1) 'Hazrat-i-A' lā '. Sulaimān Khān Kararānī (Lord of South Bihār, Bengal and Orissa).
980	1572	(2) Bāyazīd Shāh, son of (1).
980-84	1572-76	(3) Dā'ūd Shāh, son of (1).
984	1576	Final annexation by Akbar.

